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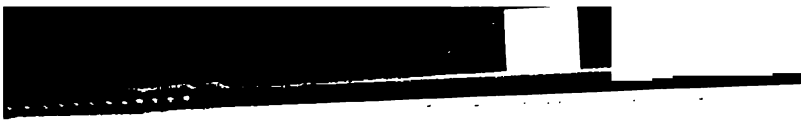

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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

ITS

ANIMALS, PRODUCTS, CLIMATE, SOIL, CITIES, PORTS, PROVINCES, COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES. WITH THE LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER,

OF THE

MOORS;

THE HISTORY OF THE

DYNASTIES SINCE EDRIS;

THE NAVAL FORCE AND COMMERCE OF MOROCCO; AND THE CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND VIEWS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

REIGNING EMPEROR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. CHENIER.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

OF all the people, with whom Europeans have any continued intercourſe, thoſe who inhabit the coaſts of Barbary ſeem to be the leaſt known. This is the more extraordinary becauſe that their manners, cuſtoms, government, and the ignorance in which they remain, when we recollect their proximity to Europe, are very remarkable. To give

authenticity to a performance which would deſcribe this peculiar people, it is neceſſary that the writer ſhould have been himſelf a witneſs of the facts he relates.

M. Chenier, author of the following work, was appointed Conſul, by the court of France, in 1767, and reſided in Morocco many years. Several Engliſh gentlemen, and merchants, now in London, were acquainted with him at Mogodor, and bear teſtimony to the veracity of his character, and of his narration. Various authors, who, by accident, have made ſome ſhort reſidence in Morocco, have written concerning the manners of the Moors; but their accounts are uſually little more than journals. They all, however, prove, by the incidents they relate, that M. Chenier cannot be accuſed of being diſpoſed to exaggerate. They all mention events that confirm, and often exceed, the moſt uncommon of thoſe recorded by our

 author.

author. The work of M. Chenier is the fulleſt and moſt complete, as well as the moſt authentic, of any hitherto preſented to the public; conſequently there is little danger that the public ſhould think ſuch a work ſuperfluous.

The following tranſlation, however, is only a part of the *Recherches hiſtoriques ſur les Maures*, by M. Chenier: but it is preſumed it is that part which alone was wanting. His two firſt volumes relate to the ancient hiſtory of Mauritania, the Arabs under the Caliphs, and the conqueſt of Spain by the Mahometans. On this ſubject there are already many hiſtories, which include information equally full, at leaſt, with that contained in the former part of the work of M. Chenier. To have tranſlated theſe volumes would have been to have made the public pay thrice the ſum for knowledge, two thirds of which they already poſſeſſed.

That

To contribute to order, and increaſe perſpicuity, the tranſlation differs from the original, by being divided into books and chapters. For a ſimilar reaſon, a very copious index is added.

The tranſlator held it his duty to examine the accounts given of Morocco, by other authors, in order to eſtimate the real value of the work he meant to publiſh. While performing this taſk, he met with many curious anecdotes, that tended farther to diſplay the character of the people, and confirm the facts related by M. Chenier. Theſe he has collected, arranged, and inſerted, in a ſeparate chapter, at the concluſion of the firſt volume, to which place they moſt properly belong. That the reader may determine for himſelf how far they have a claim to his belief, it is requiſite he ſhould be informed who the perſons were by whom they are recorded. The authors are not numerous,

neither

neither are their works ſcarce. The firſt, in point of date, is M. de St. Olon *, ambaſſador from the court of France to Muley Iſhmael. The next is Buſnot †, a father of the order of the Holy Trinity, who went, accompanied by ſome other monks, to Morocco, for the redemption of French captives. The third is Mr. Windus ‡, who accompanied the Engliſh ambaſſador, the honourable Charles Stewart, in the year 1721. To render his embaſſy more effectual, Stewart was commodore of a ſquadron of ſhips, and his negociation was ſpoken of in terms of the higheſt approbation. The fourth was Jean de la Faye §, and the fathers of his order, who, like Buſnot, were ſent to effect

* Relation de l' Empire de Maroc, par M. de St. Olon. A Paris, 1695.

† Hiſtoire du regne de Mouley Iſhmael, A Rouen, 1714.

‡ A journey to Mequinez. London, 1725.

§ Relation, en forme de Journal, du voyage pour la redemption des captifs. A Paris, 1726.

the

the redemtion of French captives: and the fifth Captain Braithwaite, who accompanied Mr. Ruſſell, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to Morocco *. To inſiſt upon the reſpectability of ſuch authorities were unneceſſary; it is ſufficient for the tranſlator to ſay that all the facts, related in the additional chapter above mentioned, are to be found in theſe authors.

* Hiſtory of the revolutions in the Empire of Morocco; London, 1729.

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

BOOK I.

Geographical Extent of the Empire of Morocco—Provinces—Cities—Rivers—Ports and Harbours—Climate—Soil—Fruits—Products—Mines—Ancient Commerce and ſources of Wealth—Inhabitants—Tribes—Dreſs—Renegados—Jews—Animals.

CHAP. I.

Geographical Situation and Extent of the Empire of Morocco.

THE Empire of Morocco extends from the twenty-eighth to the thirty-ſixth degree of north latitude; its length, from north to ſouth, I imagine to be nearly two hundred leagues; its breadth in the northern part is about five degrees, ſix or ſeven in the middle, and about a hundred

and thirty leagues where it is broadeſt. It is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean, to the eaſt by the kingdom of Tremecen and Vled d'Elgerid, to the ſouth by the Deſert, and to the weſt by the Atlantic Ocean.

The territories of Morocco are formed by the union of ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, anciently limited to a ſingle province, and perpetually at variance among themſelves, till at length they were ſubdued and united under one ſovereign by the Sharifs. The ſouthern part of the Empire contains the kingdoms of Süz, Tarudant, Morocco, Tafilet, and Sugulmeſſa, and the northern thoſe of Fez, Mequinez, and Tremecen; the latter, which was formerly ſubject to Morocco, having been conquered by the Turks of Algiers, is now a part of the territories of that Regency.

The kingdom of Morocco comprehends at preſent the provinces of Morocco, Eſcura, Ramna, Duquella, Abda, Sherma, Hea, Suo, Dra, and Geſula; that of Fez contains thoſe of Temſena, Shavoya, Ted-

la, Beni-Haſſen, Fez, Rif, Garet, Shaus, and Algarb. Several authors, who have copied from each other, have given other names to ſome of theſe provinces, but I have taken the natives for my guide, who muſt certainly be beſt acquainted with the names of the ſeveral diſtricts: to this may be added that the limits of theſe provinces have frequently varied, according as they have been occupied by different tribes; this variation of extent may have cauſed a variation of name.

Beſide the provinces which compoſe the Empire of Morocco, the Sharifs claim the ſovereignty of the Vled de Nun, and the deſert of Zahara (an Arabic word ſignifying deſert) but their authority over theſe provinces is very precarious, as it depends on the pleaſure of their ſubjects and temporary circumſtances. The people who inhabit theſe deſerts, far removed from the center of deſpotic authority, live in tribes or ſmall republics, and chuſe their own chiefs. They retain for the Emperor of Morocco that reſpect and veneration which his power, and the idea they have of

his ſupremacy, as head of the church, inſpire; but they pay or refuſe tribute as they think fit, ſince it is not poſſible for him to obtain it by force in a parched and burning country, where the people have no fixed habitation, and where an army would neither be able to act nor to ſubſiſt. This part of the coaſt has been called Vled de Nun, from Cape Non, which was diſcovered by the Portugueze in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to which they gave this name, becauſe thoſe who doubled it firſt never returned.

The whole Empire of Morocco is ſurrounded to the eaſt, north, and ſouth, by a chain of vallies and mountains, which are diſtinguiſhed according to the number and names of the tribes by whom they are inhabited: from Laracha to near Saffi, the weſtern part of it forms a ſort of plain, which, in many places, is fifteen or twenty leagues in breadth, from eaſt to weſt.

CHAP. II.

Provinces of the Empire of Morocco.

IT is impoſſible to be very accurate in the geography of this country. The prejudices of the Moors, who are not accuſtomed to the ſight of Europeans, will not permit us to viſit the inland provinces: ſuch reſearches would only ſerve to awaken their jealouſy. They, in fact, ſcarcely know themſelves the extent of their provinces, which varies according to the will or intereſt of the prince, the favour the governors are in at court, and other temporary circumſtances.

In deſcribing this Empire I ſhall firſt treat of the maritime provinces which I have travelled through, almoſt from one end to the other, as theſe, from their ſituation, are more intereſting than thoſe of the interior country, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The moſt northern province is that of

Garet, on the weſtern banks of the Mulluvia, which divides the Empire of Morocco from the province of Tremecen. This province, about twenty or twenty-five leagues in length, is bounded to the north by the Mediterranean, Mount Atlas to the ſouth, and the province of Rif to the weſt.

The province of Rif, which is one of the largeſt, is ſituated amidſt that chain of mountains which forms a part of the leſſer Atlas. This province, the ſoil of which is ſtoney, is bounded by that of Garet, to the eaſt, the Mediterranean to the north, on the coaſt of which is the ancient city of Gomera, as alſo Melilla and Veles de Pegnon, belonging to Spain; by the province of Garb to the weſt, and to the ſouth by thoſe of Shaus, or Chaus, and Fez.

The province of Garb begins in the territory of Tetuan, and extends near a degree in length from eaſt to weſt, reaching quite to Cape Spartel; its length, from north to ſouth, is about thirty-ſix leagues; it is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar,

Gibraltar, to the ſouth by the river Mamora, to the weſt by the Ocean, and to the eaſt by the kingdom of Fez. The northern part of this province is not very fruitful, as it is interſected with vallies, the lands are liable to be injured by the heavy rains, and the harveſt is very uncertain; the reſt of the province is extremely beautiful; it is watered by ſeveral rivers, and embelliſhed by ſome foreſts. Leo Africanus, and all thoſe who have copied him, call this province Aſgar, which, I am inclined to believe, is an error either in tranſcribing or printing, and that the name intended was El-Garb, which ſignifies the weſt.

Next to the province of Garb, or El-Garb, lies that of Beni-Haſſen, called by Leo Africanus, and thoſe who have followed him, Habat, which was poſſibly the ancient name; the preſent may have been received from ſome new tribe which took poſſeſſion of it. This province is bounded to the north by the river Mamora, and extends to the ſouth to that of Sarrat; four leagues from Rabat, to the eaſt, are the provinces of

Fez and Tedla, and to the weſt the ocean. This province is very extenſive, rich, and commercial, and produces wool of a very excellent quality.

The province of Temſena is contiguous to that of Beni-Haſſen, and extends from the river Sarrat to that of Morbeya. It is bounded to the eaſt by the provinces of Tedla and Shavoya, or Chavoya, that of Beni-Haſſen to the north, Duquella to the ſouth, and the Atlantic Ocean to the eaſt. This province is rich and fertile, and abounds in excellent proviſions of various kinds. Its name ſeems intended to ſignify its ſalubrity and the purity of the climate. *Temſena* appears to be derived from the two Arabic words *Tamam Sana*, only a year; as if they ſhould ſay, that to reſide here only a year would be ſufficient to inſure the ſickly the return of their health, and ſuch, in fact, is the firm belief of the natives. Corn is very plentiful in this province, it is of a very excellent kind, and the ears frequently bear ſeventy grains, or more. In the foreſts is found a kind of cedar, called Hazar,

zar, of a reſinous ſmell; it is a hard and incorruptible wood, and the Moors employ it in building their houſes. Leo Africanus, miſled by the ſimilarity of names, calls this province Tremecen, the name of a kingdom which does not belong to Morocco. Marmol, in copying him, has fallen into the ſame error.

Paſſing the river Morbeya, the ſouthern limit of Temſena, we arrive at the province of Duquella, which extends to the walls of Saffi. This province is bounded on the north by that of Temſena; to the eaſt by thoſe of Eſcura, Ramna, and Morocco; to the ſouth by the province of Abda; and to the weſt by the ocean. It is very populous, rich, and commercial, abounds in corn, and produces a great deal of wool, part of which is ſold unwrought, and the reſt employed in the manufactures, with which it ſupplies the ſouthern provinces. This province formerly extended to the river Tanſif, but that of Abda has been taken out of it, in order to divide it between two brothers who diſputed the government. The inhabitants

habitants of Duquella are, in general, of a large ſize and robuſt; they are a trading people, and, as the ſpirit of intereſt has a great influence on the characters of men, they are more affable and engaging than thoſe of the other ſouthern provinces.

The province of Abda, which made a part of that of Duquella, begins at the city of Saffi, and extends to the river of Tanſif; it is of a triangular form. The inhabitants of this province are particularly addicted to the profeſſion of arms, and many of them are in the ſervice of the Court.

Next to the province of Abda is that of Hea, which is bounded to the north by the river Tanſif, to the eaſt by the province of Sherma, or Cherma, to the weſt by the ocean, and to the ſouth by the province of Sus. The inhabitants of Hea are a trading people, but reſtleſs, and little civilized; they are perpetually diſtracted by inteſtine broils. The province of Sherma, which is between this and that of Morocco, has been diſmembered from that of Hea.

The

The province of Sus is next to that of Hea. It is bounded to the eaſt by the province of Dra and a part of Geſula, to the weſt by the ſea, and to the ſouth by the Vled de Nun. This was formerly a very trading province, from its connections with the ſouthern diſtricts; but the preſent Emperor of Morocco having deſtroyed the city of Sainte Croix (Santa Cruz), it has no longer the ſame reſources; it may, however, indemnify itſelf for this loſs by trading with the European ſettlements in Senegal.

Theſe are the maritime provinces of the Empire of Morocco: as to thoſe within land and on the eaſtern ſide of the country, as they cannot be frequented by Europeans, it is impoſſible to ſpeak of them with the ſame preciſion. I ſhall now, however, return from the ſouth to the north, and deſcribe theſe according to the beſt accounts I have been able to procure.

To the eaſt of the province of Sus, and to the north of Vled de Nun, are the provinces of Dra and Geſula, both in the neigh-

neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, which, in this ſouthern part of the country, extends almoſt to the ſea.

Proceeding northward we enter the province of Morocco, which is of conſiderable extent. Between this province and that of Hea is ſituated the province of Sherma, which has been diſmembered from the latter. This ſmall province and thoſe of Abda and Duquella are to the weſt of that of Morocco, which is bounded to the north by the province of Eſcura, or Aſcora, as it is called by Leo Africanus, and by Mount Atlas to the eaſt.

Next to the province of Morocco is the province of Eſcura, which, with that of Ramna, formerly compoſed only one government; it has been divided to keep the people of theſe countries, ſo near to the mountains, more eaſily in ſubjection. Ramna and Eſcura have the province of Morocco to the ſouth, that of Duquella to the weſt, the river Morbeya to the north, and Mount Atlas to the eaſt.

Proceed-

Proceeding northward from the province of Eſcura we enter that of Tedla, which extends along the eaſtern ſide of Mount Atlas, and has to the weſt the province of Shavoya; the latter, inhabited by mountaineers addicted to robbery and violence, is bounded to the weſt by the province of Temſena, and to the north by that of Beni-Haſſen, with which it is frequently engaged in diſputes.

The province of Fez is ſituated to the north of Tedla and Shavoya, and has to the weſt the provinces of Beni-Haſſen and Garb, and Mount Atlas to the eaſt, ſtretching to the north as far as the provinces of Shaus, Rif, and Garet. The dependençies of the province of Fez are very extenſive, and include ſeveral mountains abounding in inhabitants, and well cultivated.

Mount Atlas is the eaſtern boundary of all the weſtern provinces of Morocco. This mountain is formed by an endleſs chain of lofty eminences, divided into different countries, inhabited by a multitude of tribes, whoſe ferocity permits no ſtranger

to

to approach. I have not been able to obtain a ſufficient knowledge of theſe mountains to deſcribe them accurately: what Leo Africanus has ſaid of them is very vague; and his account is the leſs to be regarded, at preſent, as it is now about three centuries ſince he wrote, and the face of the country has been in that time totally changed. Nothing, perhaps, would be more intereſting to the curioſity of the philoſopher, or conduce more to the improvement of our knowledge in natural hiſtory, than a journey over Mount Atlas. The climate, though extremely cold in winter, is very healthy and pleaſant; the vallies are well cultivated, abound in fruits, and are diverſified by foreſts and plentiful ſprings, the ſtreams of which, uniting at a little diſtance, form great rivers, and loſe themſelves in the ocean. According to the reports of the Moors, there are many quarries of marble, granite, and other valuable ſtone, in theſe mountains: it is probable, there are alſo mines, but the inhabitants have no idea of theſe riches; they conſider their liberty, which their ſitua-

ſituation enables them to defend, as the moſt ineſtimable of all treaſures.

To the eaſt of Mount Atlas in a ſandy plain, part of the ancient Numidia, is the kingdom of Tafilet, which was conquered by Joſeph Abu Teſeffin, one of the firſt kings of Morocco; this kingdom was then called Sugulmeſſa. It is bounded to the north by the neighbouring mountains of Tremecen and Fez, and extends to the ſouth to the province of Geſula, having Vled d'Elgerid, or Biledulgerid, to the eaſt, and Atlas to the weſt. The city of Sugulmeſſa, which was formerly the capital of the kingdom of that name, is at preſent in that of Tafilet. There is no way from Morocco to this province but by croſſing one of the extremities of Mount Atlas, that is, either by the ſide of the province of Sus, or by that of Fez; the latter road, as it is leſs ſultry, is moſt frequented.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Cities, Rivers, and Harbours, of the Empire of Morocco.

I SHALL not here confine myſelf to a mere deſcription of the towns and ports of Morocco; to render my obſervations more uſeful, I ſhall ſubjoin ſome remarks relative to the navigation of the coaſt, the convenience of the rivers, ports, and roads, and the trade which may be carried on with the country.

Nature has defended the weſtern coaſt of Morocco with an almoſt inſurmountable barrier, in the numerous rocks level with the ſurface of the water which line the ſhore: a deſcent would be the more difficult to accompliſh as the invaders could not be ſure of a retreat, on account of the changes inceſſantly occaſioned by the agitation of the ſea and the variations of the tides.

The

The towns in this Empire are neither large, numerous, nor populous. The deſpots, jealous of their authority, and fearful of being deprived of the power they abuſe, conſider cities and ſtrong places as more favourable to rebellions, and the liberty of the ſubject, than camps; their towns, therefore, are weakly fortified, and little capable of defence on the land ſide.

The empire of Morocco is ſeparated on the north from the kingdom of Algiers, by the river Mulluvia, which falls into the Mediterranean. The Emperor is in poſſeſſion of no place on this northern coaſt, which coaſt is known by the name of *Rif*, the few he had having been taken by the Spaniards, who ſtill poſſeſs them; ſuch are, Alhuſema, Melilla, and Veles de Pegnon, or Gomera.

Melilla, or Melela, is an ancient city, which was probably founded by the Carthaginians. Its name proves that honey was plentiful in its environs. The Goths, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of it, abandoned it when the Arabs invaded the coun-

try. It was forſaken in like manner by the Moors, and ſeized on by the Spaniards about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Sidy Mahomet ineffectually laid ſiege to this place in 1774.

Veles de Pegnon, or Gomera, is a caſtle built on a rock, whence its name is taken. Below this fortreſs there was anciently a city, called Bedis, ſuppoſed to have been founded by the Carthaginians: the Arabs have called it Belis and Velis, whence the name Veles. Theſe two places, ſurrounded by mountains and foreſts, were ſupported by the building of ſhips, for fiſhing and piracy, before they were taken by the Spaniards. This part of the coaſt of Rif is of no utility to navigation. Traverſing it from eaſt to weſt we find the river of Booſſega, near Tetuan, where the Morocco gallies anchor and winter, protected by a bad fort.

A league and a half from the road up the country is the city of Tetuan, in the province of Garb, inhabited by Moors and Jews, who, moſt of them, ſpeak Spaniſh;

they are commercial, gentle in their manners, and polite. The environs of this city are planted with vineyards and gardens, kept in good order; and the fruits here are better and more carefully nurtured than in the other parts of the empire. Leo Africanus attributes the foundation of this city to the people of Africa. Tetuan was embelliſhed, and its population increaſed, when the Moors were driven out of Spain: the Europeans of the preſent century have traded here; and this was the place of reſidence for ſeveral conſuls till the year 1770, when the reigning Emperor would no longer permit them to remain, nor again to eſtabliſh themſelves, in this city. This place has preſerved a communication with Gibraltar, whence the ſhips come to victual when the wind is in the weſt, and does not permit them to make Tangiers. The ſhore of Tetuan is only ſafe when the wind is in the weſt, at which time ſhips ride ſecure; but when it veers to the eaſt, they muſt remain there no longer.

After Tetuan I muſt ſpeak of Ceuta,

which belongs to the Spaniards, and which ſerves as a harbour for ſmall veſſels: from thence to Tangiers, the coaſt, inhabited by Moors and rugged with projecting cliffs, is of no utility to navigation; there are indeed a few coves where ſmall boats, in caſe of neceſſity, may find ſhelter. Judging by probabilities, this place muſt have been built by the Carthaginians, and afterward appertained to the Romans, by whom it was colonized. It next became the metropolis of the places which the Goths held in *Hiſpania Tranſfretana*, was after that abandoned to the Arabs and the Moors by Count Julian, was taken by the Portugueze in 1415, and is at preſent under the dominion of Spain.

Tangiers, in the province of Garb, lies about ten leagues from the road of Tetuan, at the weſtern mouth of the Strait. This place, which belonged firſt to the Romans, and afterward to the Goths, was likewiſe given up to the Mahometans by Count Julian. It was taken in 1471 by the Portugueſe, and given to Charles II., King of England, in 1662, as a marriage portion with

the Princeſs Catharine of Portugal. The Engliſh abandoned it in 1684, after having deſtroyed the mole and the fortifications. Almoſt in ruins, at preſent, it ſtill retains ſome batteries, in tolerable condition, facing the bay; but theſe could with difficulty reſiſt any powerful attack. At the bottom of the bay, towards the eaſt, oppoſite the ruins of old Tangiers, is the mouth of the river, where the Emperor formerly laid up his gallies during winter; but the ſand banks and bars, at preſent, render the river uſeleſs.

The ſituation of the bay of Tangiers is, and always will be, favourable to Mooriſh piracy, who, from this the narroweſt part of the Strait, may eaſily ſurpriſe merchant ſhips, that are incapable of defence.

Tangiers cannot become a commercial town, having but few productions in its environs; the Spaniards thence obtained ſome fowls and vegetables, formerly, and the Engliſh, at preſent, ſupplies for their garriſon at Gibraltar.

The bay of Tangiers is not very ſafe when the wind is in the weſt, having been encumbered by the ruins of the mole and fortification; the cables are liable to be torn, and the ſhips to be driven on ſhore. The beſt anchorage, for frigates and the larger veſſels, is at the eaſtern point, whence they may eaſily ſet ſail whichever way the wind ſets; the bay, however, is only dangerous during the winter.

To the weſt of Tangiers is Cape Spartel, which muſt be doubled to make Arzilla, that lies only five leagues from Tangiers. Arzilla is built at the mouth of a river, and inhabited by Moors and Jews, who carry on no trade; it was formerly a Roman colony, afterward fell under the government of the Goths, and was next taken by the Mahometans. Alphonſo of Portugal, ſurnamed the African, maſtered it in 1471; and it was abandoned by the Portugueſe toward the end of the ſixteenth century.

Coaſting along to the ſouth we find, at the diſtance of twelve leagues, the city of Laracha,

Laracha, built on the river Luccos, which is the Lixos of the Greeks. The name of this city comes from the Arabic El-Arrais, which ſignifies a place abounding in gardens: perhaps its founders were deſirous to preſerve the memory of the garden of the Heſperides, which is ſuppoſed to have been here ſituated. The environs of this place, interſected by woods and ſome marſhes, are exceedingly pleaſant; and it would be very proper for trade, the river having a ſufficient depth of water, and the neighbourhood being capable of furniſhing products for Europe.

Laracha was fortified by Muley Naſſer at the end of the ſixteenth century, was afterwards given up to Spain in 1610, and retaken in 1689 by Muley Iſhmael. There is a fort ſtill ſtanding on the land ſide, which is regular, was built by the Spaniards, and is in good preſervation: the caſtle, beſide the road, has been put in good repair ſome years ſince, and reinforced by ſeveral batteries at the water's edge.

The French bombarded this place in

1765, and entered the river to ſet fire to two Corſairs; but the enterpriſe, though executed with courage, having been impeded by obſtacles not ſufficiently foreſeen, had not by any means the ſucceſs expected.

The Europeans have carried on ſome commerce at Laracha, under the reign of the preſent Emperor, Sidy Mahomet; but, by one of thoſe alterations the cauſes of which we are ignorant, he obliged all the merchants to retire in 1780.

The paſſage of the river of Laracha is of ſufficient depth; the large veſſels of the Emperor uſually winter there, where there are magazines for the refitting of veſſels, but no docks for building, the wood proper for which is too diſtant, and the ſoil, which is merely ſand, not being ſufficiently firm for the erecting of ſtocks. The road of Laracha is inſecure in winter when the winds freſhen from the weſt and ſouth weſt, but there is no danger between the beginning of April and the end of September.

From

From Lamcha to Mamora, containing about twenty leagues by land, the face of the country is variegated by divers lakes, foreſts, and vallies, which formerly were tolerably populous. Among theſe vallies, as we approach Mamora, we meet with lakes of ſoft water, which are nearly eight leagues in extent, abounding in ducks and water fowl, and where eels are taken in great numbers. The boats made uſe of by the fiſhermen are a kind of ſkiffs made of reeds and ruſhes, about ſix feet long and two broad, and will ſcarcely hold a man. The fiſherman guides them with a pole, and pierces the eels, when he ſees them in the water, with a ſort of dart. On the banks of theſe lakes are to be ſeen ſeveral ſanctuaries of the Maraboots, who are held in great veneration for their ſuppoſed holineſs, and a number of camps of the Moors, who cultivate the neighbouring lands, which are but moderately productive. This valley is extremely pleaſant in winter and ſpring, but in ſummer it is parched and diſagreeable. At the ſouthern extremity is a ſanctuary on an eminence, appertaining to which are habitaitons

and

and gardens. Hence we perceive the windings of the river Seboo, which takes its courſe from Fez, and uniting with the Beth falls into the ocean. This river, which is croſſed in boats much out of repair, is at about the diſtance of a league from the ſanctuary, and is the boundary between the province of Garb and that of Beni-Haſſen.

The fort of Mamora, which is to the ſouth of the Seboo, is the firſt inhabited place in the province of Beni-Haſſen. It was begun by the Portugueſe in 1515, and deſtroyed the ſame year by the Moors. It was rebuilt in 1604 by the Spaniards, from whom it was taken by Muley Iſhmael in 1681. This fortreſs, which was originally built at the mouth of the river Seboo, is now two miles diſtant from it, in conſequence of the driſted ſand-banks and bars, which have rendered the entrance of this river ſo difficult and dangerous as to be no longer of any uſe to commerce or navigation. There are at this fort about five-and-thirty or forty families, who gain a wretched livelihood by the profits of their ferry,

ferry, and fiſhing for ſhads, of which they take ſuch numbers as to be able to ſupply all the neighbouring country between November and the end of March.

From Mamora it is five leagues to Sallee. This town is ſituated in the province of Beni-Haſſen, at the mouth of the river of Sallee, which is formed by the union of the two ſmaller rivers, the Buregreb and the Gueroo. The river of Sallee was formerly a port capable of receiving large ſhips; but the ſand has now ſo choaked up the entrance, that ſhips of two hundred tons cannot enter it till their guns and ballaſt are taken out. This town was taken in 1261 by Don Alphonſo X., King of Caſtile; but he was not able to keep it, the King of Fez retaking it immediately after.

Sallee is a walled town, and has a battery, of twenty-four pieces of cannon, which commands the road, and a redoubt which defends the entrance of the river. To the north we perceive the walls and ruins of a ſmall inhabited town, which

Muley

Muley Iſhmael cauſed to be built for the families of his black ſoldiers.

On the ſouth ſide of the river of Sallee is the town of Rabat. Theſe two places are ſo near each other that they ought not to be ſeparated. As they are united by the ſame intereſts, they for ſome time formed a kind of union, and were governed by the ſame magiſtrates; and it is only within theſe thirty years that the reigning Emperor has aboliſhed this form of government. There has been formerly, and at intervals, a number of European factories at Rabat; but the difficulty of navigating the river, the obſtacles ariſing from the arbitrary power of the Sovereign, and the diſpoſition and prejudices of the Moors, have diſguſted the Europeans. Rabat is, however, the moſt proper place for trade of any upon this coaſt, both for its vicinity to Europe and the quantity of wool, leather, and wax, it is capable of furniſhing. From its central ſituation, in the empire, it is alſo better adapted for conveying the commodities imported to every part of the country; but

a deſpotic

a deſpotic government acknowledges no principle but the convenience of the moment; it commands, judges, and executes without conſidering either cauſe or conſequence.

At Rabat, near the mouth of the river, are to be ſeen the ruins of a caſtle, built by Jacob Almonſor, or Al-Manſor, in the twelfth century, but entirely demoliſhed by the reigning Emperor, who has only preſerved ſome magazines remarkable for their ſtrength and ſolidity. In this caſtle, which I have ſeen before it was deſtroyed, was the palace of Jacob Almonſor, where every thing, either neceſſary or convenient, was to be found in miniature. Under the palace were ſubterranean magazines for ammunition, vaulted ſo that they were bomb proof. There was, alſo, fronting the road, a ſmall fort and a battery that defended the entrance of the river, but which have been laid in ruins by time. Theſe batteries were rebuilt in 1774 on a more extenſive plan; but the workman who conſtructed them (an Engliſh renegado and an excellent maſon) has made the embraſures

ſo

ſo near each other that it will be difficult to uſe them with any effect. Other batteries have alſo been erected, lower down, to prevent a landing. At a ſmall diſtance from the caſtle, toward the ſouth, on an eminence, is a little ſquare fort, built by Muley Archid, or Arſhid. This fort, which at preſent ſtands alone, formerly was joined to the caſtle by a wall, which ſerved as a covered way, but which has been demoliſhed by the reigning Emperor.

Jacob Almonſor, being deſirous to fix his reſidence at Rabat, and make it at the ſame time a place of ſtrength, and the magazine of his arms, that he might from thence more eaſily paſs into Spain, of which he was Sovereign, built the walls, which ſtill remain. They are near two miles round, and fortified by ſquare towers. They encloſe the caſtle, the town of Rabat *, and a large

* The city was built on the eaſtern declivity, beſide the palace of Muley Arſhid. The houſes, according to Mooriſh tradition, had been built by Spaniſh ſlaves, with little ſolidity, purpoſely that they might fall upon the Moors, which actually happened: the ſlaves were puniſhed with death at the

a large ſpace of ground, where that prince built beautiful palaces, and laid out delightful gardens, watered by plentiful ſtreams which he brought from the neighbouring ſpring *. Theſe walls, as well as the palace and the town, were built by Spaniſh ſlaves, whom he took priſoners in his firſt campaign.

This Monarch built within the ſame incloſure a very large moſque, the ruins of which ſtill remain. The roof was ſupported by three hundred and ſixty columns of rough marble. Beſide the eaſtern front were apartments for thoſe who had any employment in the moſque, and porticoes, which were ſtill ſtanding in 1773. On the oppoſite ſide was a handſome ſquare tower, ſtrongly built with cut ſtone. It is near two hundred feet high, and called the

the iron gate of the grand incloſure, where there are five gates, that of the ſea, that of Morocco, that of the mount, the iron gate, and the gate of Shella, or Chella.

* Theſe waters come from a valley called Tamara, to the ſouth of Rabat, where there is a bubbling ſpring not far from that which ſupplies Rabat with water.

tower of Haſſen. This tower has the ſame form, the ſame ornaments, the ſame ſtaircaſe, and the ſame proportions as thoſe of Seville and Morocco; and, according to all tradition, is the work of the ſame architect. From this tower we have an extenſive view over the ſea, and ſhips may be diſcovered at a prodigious diſtance. This monument is in perfect preſervation, notwithſtanding the natural propenſity of the Moors to deſtroy every thing. The ſtaircaſe only has been a little damaged, as has the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt corner, which has been beaten down by lightning. At a ſmall diſtance from this tower, on the north ſide, are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a wall, on which formerly ſtood a caſtle.

After that ſeries of revolutions which ſo long convulſed the empire of Morocco, the Mooriſh inhabitants poſſeſſed themſelves of the ground of this vaſt incloſure, and planted gardens and vineyards, which rendered it extremely agreeable: but the reigning Emperor, notwithſtanding the land had been private property for three hundred years, and tranſmitted to the

the poſſeſſors by their anceſtors for many generations, reclaimed it in 1774 as the right of the crown, ſeized every thing he found on it, and built a town for thoſe ſoldiers who have ſtill preſerved the name of Negroes; but, theſe troops having been diſbanded, the town has been deſerted, and nothing now remains of it but a heap of ruins. This Monarch, in 1785, began to erect a palace here, in which he propoſes to reſide, if no new caprice ſhould induce him to alter his intentions.

There are ſome docks for building ſhips at Sallee and Rabat; but the difficulty of navigating the channel, and the probability that the ſand will continue to accumulate, give ground to predict that, very ſoon, only veſſels with oars will be able to enter the river.

The road of Sallee is only to be frequented in the fine ſeaſon, from the beginning of April to the end of September; when the wind blows from the ſouth ſouth weſt, which ſeldom happens but in winter, this road is no longer ſafe;

ſhips are expoſed to be driven out to ſea, and the ſhifting of the ſands of the bar render any communication with the town extremely difficult. The beſt anchorage to be found is on the ſouth ſide of the river next Rabat, and the ſhip ſhould be moored between the tower of the moſque and that called Haſſen, having the latter to the north. Great attention ſhould be paid to the cables, as a great number of anchors have here been loſt.

On the eaſtern ſide of Rabat we meet with a ſmall ruinous town called Shella, which contains many Mooriſh tombs, held in great veneration. The town itſelf is conſidered as a ſacred aſylum, and is only permitted to be entered by Mahometans. It ſeems probable this was the metropolis of the Carthaginian colonies on the weſtern coaſt of Africa.

Eight leagues from Rabat, toward the ſouth, in the province of Temſena, we find a wretched caſtle, named Menſooria: it was built in the twelfth century, by Jacob Almonſor, to afford an aſylum to

travellers during the night, the inhabitants of the country round it being a miſchievous and thieviſh people.

Proceeding along the ſame coaſt, eight leagues from Menſooria, we arrive at the road of Fedala. The name of iſland is improperly given to a little point of land which projects into the ſea, and forms a bay ſcarcely ſufficient to ſhelter a few ſmall veſſels. The reigning Emperor, in 1773, having permitted a great quantity of corn to be brought out of the matamores * contiguous to this road, endeavoured to take advantage of the opportunity to procure a city to be built, by obliging the merchants, who wiſhed to have any of the corn, to build ſome houſes; in conſequence of which the town of Fedala was begun in a very advantageous ſituation, but no ſooner was the corn diſpoſed of than it was abandoned. Such is the brief

* Matamores are holes dug in the earth, in which corn is long preſerved, as will be more circumſtantially related in the account I ſhall give of the manners and cuſtoms of the Moors.

hiſtory of Fedala, a town ruined before it was finiſhed; and ſuch is indeed the hiſtory of nearly the whole country.

As this road is defended by the coaſt, which, on the ſouthern ſide, perceptibly extends to the weſt, ſhips may anchor here in ſecurity in winter; but, in ſummer, when the winds blow ſtrong from the north north weſt, the ſwell of the ſea is very incommodious.

Four leagues to the ſouth of Fedala we meet with Anafa, at preſent called Dar Beyda, a town formerly in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, but of which nothing now remains but ſome ruins, among which are a number of Mooriſh huts. It is ſituated near a pleaſant bay, and in an extenſive plain, which, if well cultivated, would be very fertile.

Fifteen leagues from Anafa, or Dar Beyda, by following the coaſt toward the ſouth, we arrive at the town of Azamore, in the province of Duquella, on the river Morbeya,

Morbeya*, and at ſome diſtance from its mouth. This town is not proper for maritime commerce, becauſe the entrance of the river is dangerous. Azamore was unſucceſsfully beſieged by the Portugueſe in 1508; it was taken, however, in 1513, by the Duke of Braganza, but abandoned about the end of the ſixteenth century.

At a little diſtance from Azamore, facing a ſpacious bay, are the ruins of the ancient city of Titus, which I imagine likewiſe to have been one of the cities founded by order of the Senate of Carthage. Near the ſame place are the ruins of Almedina, a town built by the Moors.

Beſide the ſame bay, four leagues to the ſouth of Azamore, is ſituated the city of Mazagan, which was built by the Portugueſe in 1506, and named by them Caſtillo Real. Under the walls of this place,

* The true name of this river is Om-Arbaym; that is to ſay, forty ſprings, or forty mothers, and it is called Morbeya only by a corruption of the word.

on the north ſide, a dock has been made, which will admit ſmall veſſels; but large ſhips are obliged to anchor two leagues out at ſea, on account of the cape of Azamore, which ſtretches to the weſt, and which it would be difficult to double if a ſouth-weſt wind ſhould drive them from their anchors. Mazagan was beſieged without effect in 1562 by the Sharif of Morocco, and remained in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe till 1769, when the preſent Emperor laid ſiege to it juſt as it was determined to be abandoned by the court of Liſbon. The Moors of the province of Duquella, who carried on a clandeſtine trade with the Portugueſe, greatly regret that it has changed its maſter.

The town of Mazagan is at preſent entirely ruined, and almoſt uninhabited. The Moors have taken away the timber of the houſes, and left the walls ſtanding. I ſaw, in 1781, a ciſtern, ſtill remaining, though damaged by the bombs, which deſerves the notice of travellers for the elegance of its conſtruction: the deſcent is by ſtairs; the effuſion of light is ſplendid, and the

the vaulted roof is ſupported by twenty-four very regular columns. At a little diſtance to the ſouth weſt of Mazagan is an old tower, called Boriſha; whence the name of Bridja, which the Moors confound with that of Mazagan.

When this town belonged to the Portugueſe, the ſouthern Moors, who were not able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, imagined the neglect of this devotion might be compenſated by coming and diſcharging their muſkets at the Chriſtian town of Mazagan. One of theſe fanatics having been killed by a cannon ſhot from the place, his comrades buried him as a ſaint, and carried away the ball as a trophy of victory; they took care, however, for the future, to fire their pieces at a greater diſtance.

Twelve leagues from Mazagan, proceeding along the coaſt, we find the town of Valedia ſituated in a ſtony plain, extremely incommodious to the traveller. Here is a very ſpacious natural baſon, ſurrounded by rocks, which would contain more than

a thouſand ſhips; but the entrance, which is narrow, and entirely open to the weſt, is equally difficult and dangerous. The coaſt of Valedia is lined with rocks near thirty feet high, which anciently muſt have been waſhed by the ſea, the Moors living in the caverns the waters have hollowed out. At the bottom of theſe rocks the ſands, heaped up during ſucceſſive ages, have formed an extenſive and pleaſant plain, where the Moors cultivate pulſe and vegetables, which they ſell in the province of Duquella, where the want of water renders all kind of garden productions extremely ſcarce.

The little town of Valedia is only a circle of walls, containing but few habitations. Its name indicates that it was built under the reign of Muley Valid, who died in 1647. This town ſeems to be ſituated nearly on the ſame ſpot where Leo Africanus places Conte, which, he ſays, was built by the Africans twenty miles from Saffi. Marmol has copied him exactly; but, by ſome miſtake in the name, confounds Conte with cape Cottes, at preſent

cape

cape Spartel, which is a hundred leagues more to the north.

Eight leagues from Valedia toward the ſouth, after doubling cape Cantin, we arrive at the town of Saffi, the only one in the province of Abda. This place is very ancient, and was probably one of the cities built by the Carthaginians. The Portugueſe made themſelves maſters of it in 1508, and abandoned it in 1641, after having reſiſted every effort of the Sharifs, who were not able to take it from them.

Saffi was long the centre of the commerce carried on with Europe. The French, who had ſeveral factories there before the peace, and who reſided there, confiding in the laws of hoſpitality, brought thence great quantities of wool, wax, gum and leather; but the preſent Emperor having made Mogodor a principal port, Saffi has no longer any trade. This town has a very fine road, where ſhips may anchor very ſafely, except in winter, when the winds blow from the ſouth or ſouth weſt,

weſt, for they are then ſure to be driven out to ſea.

The environs of Saffi are a dry and parched deſert, and the Moors of the town rude, fanatical, and unſociable. There are a number of tombs, or aſylums of ſaints at the entrance of this town, which have been made a pretext for obliging the Jews to enter it barefooted; nor was any Chriſtian till lately permitted to ride in on horſeback. I was the firſt who freed the Europeans from this ridiculous reſtriction, to which they had long been ſubjected; and it is only ſince 1767, when I reſided a whole year at Saffi, after the peace, that they have been allowed to go in or out of this town on horſeback *.

About five leagues to the ſouth of Saffi is the river of Tanſif, which is the boundary of the province of Abda. This river

* This ridiculous devotion firſt began toward the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century; for the Portugueſe, who were maſters of that place, did not abandon it till the year 1641.

riſes

riſes in Mount Atlas, and, taking its courſe near Morocco, falls into the Atlantic ocean. At the mouth of this river, on the northern ſide, amid ſome ſands and marſhes, are the ruins of a ſmall town, called by the Moors Suera, from which the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, or the inundations of the Tanſif, has driven the inhabitants. On the other ſide of the Tanſif, which is paſſed by fording, or on rafts made of reeds tied to leathern bags filled with wind, we find a ſquare caſtle, built in the reign of Muley Iſhmael, to defend the paſſage of the river during the time of the inteſtine diſturbances of the empire. This caſtle at preſent only contains a few families, and the country round it is not cultivated.

From the Tanſif it is eighteen leagues to Mogodor, in the province of Hea. The intermediate country is interſperſed with vallies, which are tolerably pleaſant, though ſtony, and in which, from time to time, we meet with cultivation. This place, which the Moors call, indifferently, Suera, or Mogodor, receives its name from a ſaint, held

held here in great veneration by the name of Sidi Mogodoor, whoſe tomb is to be ſeen at a ſmall diſtance to the ſouth of the town. Mogodor formerly had a wretched caſtle, built by the Portugueſe, to preſerve a communication with their ſettlements to the ſouth of this coaſt. This caſtle protected alſo the entrance of a harbour, formed by a channel, between the main land and a ſmall iſland. Such a ſituation appearing favourable to make it a place of trade, the preſent Emperor reſolved to found a city here, and the wealthier Moors began to build houſes to pleaſe their Sovereign. Foreign merchants were invited to do the ſame, and, to induce them, large abatements were offered in the cuſtom duties. Theſe promiſes, however, though ſolemnly made, were not ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved.

This city, which was begun in 1760, is now compleatly finiſhed: it contains a great number of houſes, handſomely and ſolidly built. The ſtreets are all ſtraight lines, and there is no town in the empire

in which we ſee ſuch a regularity of plan*. It is ſurrounded with walls, and batteries are erected, not only on the ſea ſide but toward the land, to defend it from any incurſion of the ſouthern Moors. In caſe of an attack, however, this city, which has no water, and is half a league diſtant from the river, would ſoon be at the mercy of the enemy.

The preſent Emperor has brought all the European merchants to ſettle at Mogodor; and, diſtant as it is from Europe, it is the only port on the coaſt which maintains a continued commercial intercourſe with that quarter of the world. This city ſtands on marſhy ground, and ſo low that, at ſpring-tides, it is almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea. The country about it

* A French engineer, named Cornut, from the country near Avignon, who, ſeeking his fortune, croſſed from Gibraltar to Morocco, laid the foundations of the town of Mogodor. He was kindly received by the Emperor, who deſired to diſtinguiſh his reign by the foundation of a new city; but after ten years ſervice this engineer returned to France as poor as he went. The city was afterwards finiſhed by renegadoes and maſons brought from Europe.

is a melancholy deſert of accumulated ſand. The Europeans, however, enjoy here the advantage of a more eaſy communication with the ſouthern provinces, which, by exchanging their productions for the commodities of Europe, render the trade of this place very flouriſhing.

The port of Mogodor is formed by a channel, between the main land and an iſland more than a mile in length. The entrance of this channel is to the north weſt, and its outlet to the ſouth. It is ſufficiently large for ſhips of a middling ſize, but in general it has not ſufficient depth; which diſadvantage is increaſed every day by the accumulation of the ſand. The number of ſhips which have been loſt in this port in winter, by violent ſtorms from the ſouth weſt, ſufficiently prove how very dangerous it is in bad weather.

Following the coaſt, to the ſouth, about thirty-five leagues from Mogodor, we arrive at the town of Santa Cruz, in the province of Suz, called by the Arabs Aguadir,

Aguadir, or Cape Aguer. The ſpacious bay of this place and the neighbouring ſea abound greatly in fiſh. A Portugueſe gentleman built a wooden houſe on this coaſt for the purpoſe of fiſhing, and found it a very profitable undertaking. The Moors called this place *El dar del Roomi*; that is, the houſe of the Roman. Don Emanuel, King of Portugal, perceiving the importance of this poſt for the preſervation of the conqueſts he had already made, and facilitating thoſe he meditated, bought the ground about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and built there a fortreſs called Santa Cruz, which was taken from the Portugueſe in 1536. This town was long the centre of an extenſive commerce, and different European nations had ſeveral factories there till 1773, when the Emperor obliged them to remove to Mogodor, after demoliſhing the fortifications of Santa Cruz. It has been imagined that this Prince, whoſe character is ſuch that no very certain judgement can be formed of the motives of his actions, was induced to this meaſure for fear the Spaniards ſhould beſiege Santa Cruz, while he was occupied

pied in the ſiege of Melilla, which he undertook in 1774.

The port of Santa Cruz is a large and very ſecure bay, capable of containing a great number of ſhips, and well defended from the wind on every ſide. The communication between this place and the ſouthern provinces renders it more convenient for commerce than any other on the coaſt.

Beyond Santa Cruz there is no frequented port. The country of Tarudant, which is to the ſouth of this place, and which is a part of the province of Suz, is the ſouthern boundary of the Empire of Morocco.

The country of Vled de Nun, which is next to the province of Suz, is ſeparated from it by ſandy deſerts. The Emperor of Morocco, indeed, as I have obſerved at the beginning of this chapter, arrogates to himſelf the ſovereignty of Vled de Nun; but his real authority is here extremely feeble. This vaſt, but deſert, province affords

fords not a ſingle harbour or anchoring place along a coaſt of ſixty leagues, that is, quite to cape Bajador. It is inhabited by different tribes of Arabs, whoſe camps are ſcattered over ſuch parts of the interior country as are capable of cultivation. The ſide next the ſea is a ſandy ſhore, lined with rocks under water, over which the waves break violently. Ships are often driven on this coaſt by rapid currents formed between the Continent and the Canary iſlands, and Spaniſh, Engliſh, and French veſſels, are frequently ſhipwrecked*. When ſuch a misfortune happens the fate of the unhappy mariners is moſt deplorable; they are immediately ſeized and ſtripped by the Arabs, who, not-

* Theſe accidents, which may depend on a concatenation of unlucky circumſtances, have often been occaſioned by the ignorance of the mariners, as we may be convinced from the depoſition of thoſe who have eſcaped after ſhipwreck. They might be prevented, by ſubjecting veſſels deſtined for the coaſt of Africa to paſs to the weſt of the Canaries, and eſpecially by examining, with more ſeverity, the orders of Captains, and ſupplying ſhips, intended to make long voyages, with three officers capable of command, the Captain included.

withſtanding the laws obſerved among themſelves in their robberies, take from each other their ſlaves and booty by open force. Their wretched priſoners are expoſed to hunger, thirſt, the caprices of their maſters, and every humiliation of miſery. To the ſhame of humanity, they are bought and ſold, and frequently exchanged for camels, or other beaſts, in the markets of the deſerts. The Emperor of Morocco uſes all his influence to procure theſe unfortunate ſufferers to be delivered up to him; but the ſlowneſs of the negociations, and the obſtacles met with at every ſtep, render their iſſue very uncertain; and ſhould they even be ſurrendered to this Prince, his juſtice and generoſity muſt again be long, and patiently ſolicited, before they are finally ſet at liberty *.

In theſe ſouthern climates Mahometaniſm is mixed with more ſuperſtitions than even among the people of Morocco. The

* The ſeamen of a ſhip from Nantz, in the Guinea trade, which was ſhipwrecked on this coaſt about the end of the year 1775, were two years before they returned to France.

heat

heat inflaming the imagination multiplies the number of fanatics, who, under the name of ſaints, impoſe on the piety and credulity of the people. They have neither moſques nor any ſtated places for their prayers, but pray in their tents, or wherever they happen to be; and, when they want water, make their ablutions with ſand, as is permitted them by their law. The ſpirit of pillage keeps the people of theſe countries in conſtant motion; they traverſe the deſerts quite to Nigritia, whence they even carry off the Negroes. They regulate their route, and judge of their approach to rivers by the flight of certain birds.

The province of Vled de Nun has a conſiderable trade. After having paſſed the deſerts, that ſeparate it from Morocco, we find many tracts of land capable of cultivation, and which produce gums and excellent wax. As theſe people are ſo far removed from the reach of tyranny as to live in a kind of independence, luxuries are more indulged among them; and they make uſe of many European commodi-

ties, eſpecially linen. Several of theſe Arab tribes are more affable and honeſt than the other Moors. They trade to Mogodor, but with reſerve and circumſpection, that they may not expoſe their riches to the uncertainty of accident. It is probable they have a more immediate communication with the factories of Senegal, with which they may trade with leſs reſtraint; and it is only by their means that the weſtern Moors have any intercourſe with the people of Nigritia. If it were practicable to form ſettlements on the coaſt of cape Bajador, a very profitable commerce might be eſtabliſhed with theſe Arabs; and mariners, who might have the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked on the coaſt, would be able to obtain more certain and ſpeedy aſſiſtance; but ſuch a plan is expoſed to too many difficulties ever to be realized.

As a knowledge of the coaſt of Morocco is of more utility than deſcriptions of the inland towns, I have treated this ſubject more at length; but I ſhall now proceed to enumerate the cities of the interior pro-

vinces, which are not many in num-
, returning from the ſouth to the
th.

CHAP. IV.

Inland Cities and Towns of the Empire of Morocco.

THE city of Tarudant, in the province of Suz, is ſituated almoſt at the extremity of the empire of Morocco. It was formerly the capital of a ſmall kingdom, and is at preſent the reſidence of a governor, in whom great confidence is repoſed, or ſome Sharif related to the Emperor. This province alſo contains the cities of Climi, Aguadir-Toma, and ſeveral other towns, which, as well as Tarudant, are built with ſtone. As the province of Suz has no harbours, the Moors carry its productions to Mogodor.

Morocco, which has become the metropolis of the empire, and given name to it, was formerly the capital of the kingdom of Morocco, which was bounded by the river Om-Arbaym, or Morbeya. This city is twenty

twenty leagues from the ſea, to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of Saffi, and a ſmall diſtance from Mount Atlas. It is built nearly in the ſituation, where the ancients placed the Bocanum Hemerum.

Abu Teſſifin, firſt King of the Moors, of the race of the *Morabethoon*, or Maraboots, firſt fixed his reſidence at the city of Agmet, on the weſtern declivity of Mount Atlas, a little diſtance from Morocco. Deſiring to found a capital for his dominions in a more eligible ſituation, he choſe the ſpot where Morocco now ſtands, which is called by the Arabs Marrakeſch, and by the Spaniards Marrueccos. This city was begun by that Prince in 1052, and continued by his ſon and ſucceſſor Joſeph Ben Abu Teſſifin, who kept his court here. Its walls are extremely thick, and formed of a cement, compoſed of lime and ſand, which is put in caſes, and beaten with rammers. This mortar hardens in time, and turns to ſtone, eſpecially when the compoſition is well made, and contains a ſufficient quantity of lime *.

* The Spaniards uſe this mortar, and, like the Moors,

The city of Morocco* is ſituated in a pleaſant plain, planted with palm trees, having Mount Atlas to the eaſt, which has a fine and romantic effect. The numerous ſtreams which meander through this fertile plain render it capable of the higheſt cultivation. It was formerly divided into a prodigious number of encloſed gardens and beautiful plantations of olive trees, which have, in part, eſcaped the barbarous devaſtations of contending factions. More than ſix thouſand ſprings poured their waters from Mount Atlas to fructify and enrich this plain, which was filled with country houſes and pleaſure grounds; but theſe have been all laid in ruins by the revolutions which preceded and diſtin-

call it Tapia: hence, perhaps, the French derive the word Taper; that is, to ſtrike upon, or beat with the hand. This, probably, was the manner of building among the ancients. Livy informs us, the walls of Saguntum were built with mortar made of earth.

* According to Marmol and Martiniere there was an ancient city called Morocco, mentioned in the Roman hiſtory, which Marmol names Tamaroc. It was ſituated on the river Morbeya, has been deſtroyed, and now no traces of it remain.

guiſhed

guiſhed the reign of Muley Iſhmael; and it was with difficulty, that, in 1768, the courſe of twelve hundred ſtreams, which wind through this fertile country was renewed. The city of Morocco itſelf, expoſed to the devaſtations of different conquerors, has preſerved nothing but its form. The extent of the walls, which ſtill exiſt entire, except in ſome few places, ſuppoſes a city, which might contain three hundred thouſand ſouls: at preſent this capital is little better that a Deſert. The ruins of houſes, heaped one upon another, ſerve only to harbour thieves, who lurk among them to rob the paſſenger. The quarters, which have been rebuilt, are conſiderably diſtant from each other; and the houſes are low, dirty, and extremely inconvenient. It is difficult to conceive how an imperial city can have become ſo miſerable and ſo deſerted. I doubt whether it contains thirty thouſand inhabitants, even when the court is there.

Morocco poſſeſſes ſeveral large moſques, but they have no pretenſions to magnificence. One of theſe has a tower ſimilar

to

to thoſe at Sallee and Seville, and which may be ſeen at a very great diſtance. Within the walls are a number of large encloſed ſpaces, almoſt entirely detached, containing gardens of orange trees, and pavilions, in which the princes lodge. Theſe pavilions, covered with coloured tiles, are the more remarkable, as the gaiety and ſplendor of their appearance form a ſtriking contraſt with the wretchedneſs and poverty of the ſurrounding buildings.

Among the number of the public edifices at Morocco, we muſt not forget to mention the Elcaiſſeria *, a place where ſtuffs, and other valuable commodities, are expoſed to ſale. We find ſimilar buildings in all the other cities of the empire; but in Barbary they are by no means equal to thoſe of the ſame kind in Turkey called Bezeſtins.

At the extremity of the city of Morocco, and very near the palace, is the

* Elcaiſſeria is only a corruption of the word Cæſarea.

quarter

quarter of the Jews, incloſed by walls near two miles round, where the Jews reſide, under the guard of an Alcaid, to protect them from inſult. This ſame quarter was formerly the reſidence of the Spaniſh nobles, or others of that nation, who, from diſcontent, or other motives, entered into the ſervice of the Kings of Morocco; and there is ſtill a part of the city, called the quarter of Andaluſia. Not leſs than three thouſand Jewiſh families formerly reſided here, as may be eſtimated by the ruins of houſes and ſynagogues. Of this great number there at preſent ſcarcely remain two hundred families, expoſed to tyranny and poverty; oppreſſion has obliged all the reſt to take refuge among the mountains, where they live more at their eaſe, notwithſtanding the ferocity of the inhabitants of that part of the country.

The Emperor's palace, at the extremity of the city of Morocco, fronting Mount Atlas, is a very extenſive and ſolid building. The principal gates are gothic arches of cut ſtone, embelliſhed with ornaments in the Arabian taſte. Within the walls

are various courts and gardens, elegantly laid out by European gardeners. In each of theſe gardens is a pavilion, to which the Emperor frequently retires to take his repoſe, or amuſe himſelf with his courtiers. Theſe pavilions are ſquare pyramidal edifices, about forty feet in length, and ſomewhat leſs in heighth: they are covered with varniſhed tiles, of various colours; the inſide is a kind of ſpacious hall, that receives light and air from four large doors, in the four ſides, which are opened, more or leſs, according to the poſition of the ſun, or the coolneſs they may produce. Theſe halls within are painted and gilt in the ſtile we call arabeſque, and ornamented with cartouches, containing paſſages of the Koran, or other Arabic ſentences. The furniture of theſe apartments is very ſimple; it conſiſts only of a couch, ſome arm chairs, tables, and china, or other embelliſhments; tea equipage, clocks, arms hung round the walls, a water pot, and carpets for prayers.

The pavilion, containing apartments for the Emperor and his women, is in one of

of theſe gardens. This is a very ſpacious building, according to the uſual way of living among the Moors: for the taſte of different nations, in this reſpect, always depends on their manners and cuſtoms. The furniture of this palace diſplays no ſplendid ornaments, but is in a ſtile of the greateſt ſimplicity. Theſe climates are unacquainted with that profuſion of fantaſtic novelties which are every day multiplied by the induſtry, luxury, and caprice of Europe.

The preſent Emperor, who has ſhewn an excluſive preference to the city of Morocco, had added to his palace a large piece of ground, on which he has cauſed to be built, by Europeans, regular pavilions, in the midſt of gardens. Theſe are of cut ſtone, have handſome windows, are finiſhed in an excellent taſte, and give an air of grandeur and magnificence to this part of the palace which we do not ſee any where elſe. Between theſe pavilions and the old palace is a large vacant ſpace, incloſed with walls, called Meſhooar, where the Emperor gives public audience four times

times in a week. This place is entered from without the town by a large gate, which is only opened an hour before the Meſhooar.

Mount Atlas, the boundary of the plain of Morocco, is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance to the eaſt of the city. This is the higheſt part of that mountain, the vallies of which, flouriſhing with trees and verdure, and contraſted with the ſnows on the ſummit, have a ſingular and pictureſque effect. This chain of mountains defends the environs of Morocco from the eaſt wind, which would be burning in ſummer, while the ſnows, that cover their tops, temper, at the ſame time, the heat of the climate. The nights there are conſtantly cool, and it is only from nine in the morning, till four or five in the afternoon, that any great heat is felt. The cold is ſenſibly felt in the winter, becauſe of the ſnow which falls on the mountains; but the climate is extremely healthy. Foreigners, however, do not find Morocco an agreeable reſidence, for the houſes are inconvenient and full of bugs; and, in ſummer, the multi-

multitudes of ſcorpions, ſerpents, and gnats, are inexpreſsly troubleſome.

About a league from Morocco is the river Tanſif, which riſes in Mount Atlas, and falls into the Atlantic Ocean, a little to the ſouth of Saffi. This river may be forded in the fine ſeaſon; it has, however, a bridge of brick, of conſiderable length, but not kept in repair, built about the end of the ſixteenth century by the Portugueſe ſlaves, who ſurvived the defeat of the army of Don Sebaſtian.

Beſide the ſtreams which riſe in Mount Atlas, and flow through the country round Morocco, ſome writers have deſcribed as a wonderful work, the aqueducts that bring water to the city and its environs; theſe, however, are only ſubterranean conduits, open at intervals, rudely made, and ſunken in the earth about fifteen or twenty feet, according to the level of the ground. It is impoſſible to ſurvey, without veneration, theſe firſt efforts of the induſtry of mankind, that ſeem to remind us of the birth of the arts; but we are not to con-

found

found or compare theſe barbarous works with other monuments of the ſame kind, which are ſuch noble proofs of the improvements in thoſe ſame arts, and the magnificence of nations.

At a little diſtance from Morocco, on the weſtern declivity of Mount Atlas, ſtand the city of Agmet, which was for ſome time the reſidence of the firſt Kings of Morocco, that of Aminey, and ſeveral wretched villages, inhabited by Jews, who have fled from the capital to avoid oppreſſion and extortion. The ſoil of this whole country is very fertile, as are all the vallies of theſe noble mountains, which are inhabited by the Brebes, or Berebs, who are almoſt independant.

After Muley Iſhmael had united the ſmall kingdoms which form the empire, he determined to have two imperial cities, that he might the more eaſily keep his people in ſubjection, by removing alternately from one to the other. Morocco was the imperial city of the ſouth; and Mequinez, which that prince greatly embelliſhed and

and enlarged, became the metropolis in the north.

The city of Mequinez is ſituated at the extremity of the province of Beni-Haſſen, eighty leagues north of Morocco, and twenty leagues eaſt of Sallee and the ſea. The founder of this city, named Maknaſſa, firſt built it at the bottom of a valley; but Muley Iſhmael made it conſiderably larger, by building in the plain to the weſt. The city is ſurrounded by vallies and eminences highly cultivated, ornamented with gardens and plantations of olive trees, and watered by a variety of ſtreams; the fruits and vegetables therefore are of an excellent flavour. The inhabitants themſelves, by an increaſe of civility, ſeem to prove the milder temperature of the climate. The winter, indeed, is very diſagreeable from the quantity of mud which then accumulates in this city and the environs, becauſe the ſtreets are not paved, and the ſoil is clay.

The city of Mequinez is ſurrounded with walls; the palace itſelf is fortified

with two baſtions, in which there formerly was ſome ſmall artillery. Muley Iſhmael and Muley Abdallah have often defended themſelves in this city againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Brebes, when they have conſpired againſt their tyranny. On the weſtern ſide are ſtill to be ſeen ſome walls of circumvallation, ſix feet in height, which probably were only intrenchments for the infantry, as the attacks of the Brebes were merely ſudden and momentary incurſions, which did not require any long defence.

There is in Mequinez, as in Morocco, a quarter walled in and guarded for the Jews. The houſes are handſomer here than in that at Morocco; the Jews are more numerous, and make greater profit by their induſtry, becauſe the Moors of Mequinez are richer, and, as they are nearer, have a greater intercourſe with Europe than thoſe of the ſouthern provinces.

Contiguous to the quarter of the Jews is another, incloſed with walls, but now in ruins, called the negro town. It was built

by Muley Iſhmael for the families of his black ſoldiers. Nothing now remains of it but the walls, as is the caſe with all the places intended for the ſame purpoſe throughout the empire.

At the extremity of the city, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, is the Emperor's palace, built by Muley Iſhmael after a plan of his own *. This is a very extenſive building, including ſeveral gardens, well laid out, and watered by abundant ſtreams. I have viſited every part of this palace by permiſſion of the Emperor; for, without that, it may not be entered. There is a large garden in the centre, ſurrounded by a ſpacious and tolerably regular gallery, ſupported by columns, which maintains a communication between the apartments. Thoſe of the women, which are much leſs peopled than they were in the reign of Muley Iſhmael, are very large, and terminate in one common chamber, built on a cauſeway

* This palace was greatly damaged by the earthquake, which deſtroyed Liſbon, November 1, 1755.

that divides the great garden, where the women may look out at the window through an iron lattice. As we paſs from one apartment to another, we meet at intervals with regular courts, paved with ſquares of black and white marble. In the middle of theſe courts is a marble baſon, on which is raiſed a round ſhell; in the centre of this is a fountain that plays into the baſon. There are many ſuch fountains, in the palace, that ſupply water for various purpoſes, and thoſe ablutions which the ſcruples of the Mahometans have ſo multiplied, eſpecially thoſe preceding their prayers, which, on common days, they repeat in the place where they happen to be; but on Fridays they are obliged to go to the moſque.

The palaces of the Mooriſh Kings are the more ſpacious as all the apartments are on the ground floor. Theſe are large, long, narrow rooms, eighteen or twenty feet high. They are but little ornamented, and receive light and air from two large folding doors, that are opened, more or leſs, as occaſion requires. The apartments always

always receive light from a ſquare court, the ſides of which, with few exceptions, are embelliſhed by collonades.

They make at Mequinez and Fez a kind of glazed tiles, ſimilar to what we call Dutch tiles, of different colours; theſe they uſe to pave their rooms and face their walls, whence their houſes have an air of coolneſs and neatneſs we do not meet with in other towns of the empire.

The Moors of Mequinez are much more affable and engaging than thoſe of the ſouthern provinces. They are very civil to ſtrangers, inviting them to their gardens, and entertaining them with the utmoſt politeneſs. The women in this part of the empire are extremely handſome; they are very fair, have fine black eyes, and beautiful teeth. I have ſometimes ſeen them taking the air on their terraces; they do not hide themſelves from the Europeans; but if a Moor appears, they retire immediately.

There is, both at Mequinez and Morocco,

a hoſpitium, or convent, of Spaniſh recollects, founded more than a hundred years ago, by the munificence of the Kings of Spain, for the benefit and ſpiritual comfort of the Chriſtian captives. Theſe two convents are much reſpected in the country, both for the exemplary lives of the fathers, and the ſervice they are of to the poor, whom they ſupply with medicines, gratis. As their charity, however, was much abuſed, becauſe the Moors, who are fond of remedies they do not pay for, made an indiſcreet uſe of them, without obſerving any regimen, the friar, who acts as apothecary, compoſed a mixture of water, honey, and a few ſimples, which is refuſed to nobody, and called the Decoction, or Ptiſan, of the Sharif. The Moors have recourſe to the fathers, whenever they are indiſpoſed, which expoſes the latter to many inconveniences, when their endeavours are not ſucceſsful.

Beſides the cities of Morocco and Mequinez, which are two imperial cities, that of Fez is alſo one of the principal in the empire. It even ought to have precedence of

of thoſe two capitals, as it is the more ancient, and gave name to the firſt monarchy in Africa, after the Moors had embraced Mahometaniſm. It is, beſides, the only city in the empire diſtinguiſhed by a taſte for the ſciences, and the induſtry of its inhabitants.

The city of Fez, the capital of the kingdom of the ſame name, was built about the end of the eighth century by Edris, the deſcendant of Mahomet and Ali, whoſe father, flying from Medina to avoid the proſcriptions of the Caliph Abdallah, retired to the extremity of Africa, and was proclaimed ſovereign by the Moors. Sidy Edris, ſucceeding to the crown of his father, founded the city of Fez in 793, and built the moſque in which he is buried. From that time the city of Fez has been conſidered by the Moors as a ſacred aſylum, and an object of devotion. In the firſt moments of that zeal which every religious novelty inſpires, a ſtill larger moſque was built at Fez, and called Carubin, becauſe it was founded by the Arabs of Cairoan. This is one of the fineſt edifices in the

empire, and, perhaps, in Africa. Many other moſques were faterwards built ſucceſſively at Fez; to which were annexed, according to the cuſtom of the Mahometans, colleges and hoſpitals; and this city was held in ſo high a degree of veneration that, when the pilgrimage to Mecca was interrupted, in the fourth century of the Hejira, the weſtern Mahometans, as a ſubſtitute, repaired to Fez, while the eaſtern journeyed to Jeruſalem.

When the Arabs had extended themſelves in Aſia, Africa, and Europe, they brought to Fez the knowledge they had acquired in the arts and ſciences; and, to its religious ſchools, this capital added academies for philoſophy, phyſic, and aſtronomy. The latter inſenſibly degenerated; ignorance gave credit to aſtrology, the conſtant companion of ſuperſtition, which, in its turn, gave birth to the arts of magic and divination.

Fez, reſorted to from almoſt all Africa, and the object of the devout pilgrimages of the Mahometans, ſoon became the rendez-

vous

vous of the neighbouring provinces. The increaſe of wealth introduced the love of pleaſure, and every ſpecies of luxury; licentiouſneſs quickly followed; and as its progreſs in hot countries is always moſt rapid, Fez, the ſchool of ſciences and manners, ſoon became the ſink of every vice. The public baths, which health, cleanlineſs, and cuſtom, rendered neceſſary, became the receptacles of debauchery, into which men were introduced in the dreſs of women; and the youth of the city ranged the ſtreets, after ſun ſet, in the ſame diſguiſe, to prevail upon ſtrangers to go with them to the inns, which were rather houſes of proſtitution than places for the convenience and repoſe of travellers.

The uſurpers, who, after the tenth century, diſputed the kingdom of Fez, connived at theſe abuſes, and contented themſelves with ſubjecting the maſters of the inns to furniſh a number of cooks for the army. To this indulgence the city of Fez owed its firſt ſplendor, and the greater part of its riches. As the inhabitants were handſome and engaging, the Africans reſorted

ſorted thither in crouds; and the ſubverſion of all morals became a pretended ſource of political advantage. The ſame depraved inclinations ſtill exiſt in the hearts of all the Moors, though libertiniſm is no longer authoriſed; but there, as every where elſe, is ſo far ſtigmatiſed with ſhame as to bluſh at a diſcovery.

The Mahometans of Andaluſia, Grenada, and Cordova, during the revolutions of Spain, paſſed over to Fez, whither they brought new manners, knowledge, and, perhaps, ſome ſhades of civilization. They taught the Spaniſh method of dreſſing and dying red and yellow goat and ſheep ſkins, then called Cordovan leather, now Morocco, from the city of that name, where, however, the dye is leaſt in perfection. At Fez, likewiſe, they firſt eſtabliſhed the manufacture of milled woollen caps, worn by the Moors and Eaſtern nations*. Gauzes, ſilks, ſtuffs, and beautiful ſaſhes,

* Theſe ſugar-loaf caps are called Fez by the Turks, which proves they were named from this city. The people of

ſaſhes, wrought in gold and ſilver, are made at Fez; and the little they do proves how much might be done, were induſtry encouraged.

Some love of learning is ſtill preſerved at Fez, where Arabic is better ſpoken than in the other parts of the empire; the rich Moors ſend their children to the ſchools of Fez, where they gain more inſtruction than they could do elſewhere. Leo Africanus, informs us, that there was a prize in his time appointed for the beſt poem written by the ſcholars in praiſe of Mahomet, and that the prize poems were examined on the birth day of the Prophet. Clenard went to Fez in 1540 to ſtudy more perfectly the Arabic tongue. He ſays, that there were many men of letters there at that time, that Grammar was taught in the ſchools, and that the remainder of their ſtudies related to their reli-

of Tunis have brought the manufacturing of them to perfection, which has been leſs ſucceſsfully attempted in France.

gion

gion and ceremonies. He adds, there were no bookſellers at Fez, but that, at certain ſeaſons of the year, ſales were held on the Friday in the Grand Moſque, and that the Moors cheapened without a deſire to buy.

Leo Africanus has given a deſcription of the city of Fez in the ſixteenth century, which has been faithfully copied by Marmol; and it appears, that the narratives of thoſe who have written voyages and travels in their ſtudies have tranſcribed theſe writers. Leo Africanus, born at Grenada, and educated at Fez, having, while very young, been taken at ſea, was conveyed to Rome. The little knowledge and taſte he poſſeſſed, for taſte can only be acquired by habits of ſeeing and comparing the moſt perfect models, did not ſuffer him to perceive all the beauties of that capital; and, prepoſſeſſed by the impreſſions his memory ſtill retained, he wrote a very florid deſcription of Fez. I had every liberty of examining this city, which is one of the moſt agreeable of the Mooriſh empire; but the minute circumſtances related by

by Leo are unworthy the attention of the traveller. The moſque of Carubin is the only remarkable public building, and that cannot be freely examined. The city contains ſome tolerably convenient inns, two or three ſtories high, with galleries toward the court, which is always in the centre, and admits light to the apartments. They have no appearance of grandeur whatever toward the ſtreets, which are ill paved, and ſo narrow, that in many places two horſemen cannot ride abreaſt. Their ſhops make no ſhew, and ſhould rather be called ſtalls, there being juſt room enough for a ſedentary Moor, who never moves, and the packets that are heaped round him, to which he points as paſſengers arrive. Fez, which, in paſt ages, attracted the attention of travellers, is no way preferable to the other cities of the empire, except by its ſituation, ſchools, induſtry, and ſomewhat more of urbanity: yet, though more poliſhed than their countrymen, the Moors of Fez are vain, ſuperſtitious, and intolerant. The Saints, whom they pretend have been buried in that city, ſerve them for a pretext to forbid its entrance to Jews

and

and Chriſtians; and an order from the Emperor is neceſſary to gain admiſſion.

The ſituation of Fez is remarkable for its ſingularity; it is ſeated at the bottom of a valley, and ſurrounded by hills in the form of a funnel, flattened at the narrow end. The upper part of the valley is divided into gardens, planted with high trees, orange groves, and orchards. A river winds along the valley, watering it in various directions, turning by its declivity a number of mills, and ſupplying water in abundance to all the gardens and moſt of the houſes. The deſcending road impeded by, and entangled among, theſe gardens, is much lengthened. The city ſtands in the centre of a vaſt circumference, the variety of which is exceedingly agreeable.

The gardens ſeen from the city form a moſt delightful amphitheatre. Each garden formerly had its country houſe, where the inhabitants paſſed their ſummer; but theſe have been deſtroyed by their civil wars, and thoſe revolutions in which Fez and its environs have been the ſcene of action;

action; while few of them were afterward rebuilt. By order of the Prince Muley Ali, eldeſt ſon of the emperor, I was moſt agreeably lodged at one of theſe gardens. This Prince gave me an entertainment in another garden, through the middle of which the river paſſed, its banks ornamented by a row of trees, and under a pavilion, erected with taſte. Such ſituations are every where charming, and eſpecially ſo in hot climates, where water, though more neceſſary, is more uncommon. The ſituation of Fez, however, cannot be healthy; the humidity of its vapours renders the air heavy in ſummer, and fevers there are rather common.

Ever ready to change their maſter, the inhabitants of Fez, at each revolution, yield to the firſt approaching conqueror: this they pretend is a privilege they enjoy from the founder of their city. It is, however very inefficacious, and only ſerves to prove either the cowardice of its inhabitants or the difficulty of defence. Fez, in reality, is ſo ſituated as to be unable to make

make any reſiſtance without expoſing itſelf to total deſtruction.

On the height of Old Fez, in a plain capable of great cultivation, Jacob-Ben-Abdallah, of the race of Beni-Merins, built, in the thirteenth century, New Fez, contiguous to the Old, and, by its ſituation, keeping the latter in awe. The high town, which is well and healthily ſituated, contains ſome old palaces, in which the ſons of the Emperor live. The Sovereign himſelf reſides here when he pleaſes; but he prefers a ſeparate palace, built by his father, Muley Abdallah, half a league from the city. The new town is inhabited by ſome Mooriſh families, but by ſtill more Jews, who trade with old Fez, notwithſtanding the contempt with which they are treated by the inhabitants: this contempt they endeavour to find a recompence for in their gains.

Turning to the left, on the road from Fez to Mequinez, we find a valley, where the river Raſalema, which runs to Fez, takes its riſe; it iſſues from a rock eight

or

or ten feet above the level, in a ſtream; the contents of which is about three cubic feet, and cannot be more; ſo that, however heavy the rains may be, the river, during its ſhort courſe, is incapable of ſwell. Hence the city is never endangered by floods, although from the form of the valley it is a kind of continued water-fall. It waſhes the ramparts of new Fez, and turns a wheel twenty-four feet in diameter, by which the inhabitants, the Princes' palaces, and the appertaining gardens, are ſupplied with water. This wheel is turned by the current like that of a water mill, and has ſpaces, at intervals, which ſerve as buckets that are filled by the ſtream, and emptied, during their courſe, into a baſon on the top of the wall. The method is ſimple and cheap; but I think it can only ſucceed on rivers not liable to ſwells, and where the deſcent of the current is equal to the volume of water intended to be raiſed.

The diſtance from Fez to the ſea is about a hundred and twenty miles, and from Fez to Mequinez ſome thirty ſix; the road excellent, along a pleaſant plain, interſected

by rivulets, over which are bridges, and various canals cut to water the lands. This plain is ſurrounded by inhabited highlands, on which abundant crops might be produced, and the moſt charming land-ſcapes formed. It is afflicting to behold climates of rich and fertile lands, the which lie waſte, while men are obliged to conquer the obſtacles of nature to gain ſub-ſiſtence among the mountains of Europe. The waters being abundant in this part of the empire, and the climate temperate, the vegetables produced are excellent. Rice is here cultivated, which has neither the whiteneſs nor taſte of that coming from the Levant; and here they rear all kinds of fruit, and even cherries, which do not ripen in the other parts of the empire.

The communication between Fez and Mequinez is more eaſy than in many poliſhed nations. Ready-ſaddled mules may be found at all hours of the day, which are returned after the journey to a place appointed. The pacing of the mules is not fatiguing, and in ſummer people go from Mequinez to Fez, and return in a day, good

good mules being able to travel theſe ſix-and-thirty miles in ſix hours.

On the weſtern ſide of the plain of Fez, in ſight of Mequinez, ſtands the mountain Zaaron, on which is a village conſecrated to Mahometan devotion. It contains the ſanctuary of Sidi Edris, who came from Medina at the end of the eighth century, introduced Mahometaniſm, and was the firſt ſovereign of his race in this part of Africa. This ſanctuary is an aſylum for malefactors, and never violated by the Emperor of Morocco.

After Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez, which are the principal inland cities of the empire, the only one remaining to be deſcibed is that of Alcaſſar-Quiber.

Alcaſſar-Quiber is a ſmall city, on the weſtern extremity of the province of Garb; three leagues to the eaſt of Laracha; ſituated on the river Lucos, and ſeparated from Arzilla by a continuance of vallies and plains, in one of which Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, loſt victory and life in

1578. Alcaſſar is ſurrounded by gardens, in which are grown many very indifferent fruits. The river Lucos often overflows its banks in winter, and does great damage to the city and its neighbourhood; in the houſes of which it is not uncommon for the water, at ſuch times, to be two feet high.

This city, built in the twelfth century, owes its foundation to a ſingular event. The Emperor, Jacob Almonſor, who extended his domains in Africa, and even over the Mahometan provinces of Spain, was encamped in the plains of this city to enjoy the pleaſures of the chace. Having loſt himſelf one night, he was ſeated under a tree waiting the approach of day, when a fiſherman came by, who was returning to his hut. The King pretended he was one of his own attendants who had loſt his way, and wiſhed to be conducted to the camp. The fiſherman pleaded bad weather, the danger of a country abounding in marſhes, and begged this pretended ſtray attendant would, without ſcruple, come and partake what his cottage

tage could afford. They ſet out on the morrow, and, having met the guards, who were in ſearch of the Emperor, Almonſor made himſelf known, and aſked his hoſt what recompence he wiſhed to receive. I wiſh, ſaid the fiſherman, to have a houſe inſtead of a hut, in which, ſhould occaſion offer, I might welcome a loſt ſportſman. The Emperor erected a palace on the ſpot where he reſided when he came to hunt; the charge and ſtewardſhip of which he gave to the fiſherman. The grandees and courtiers eagerly built houſes around it, and a little city ſoon aroſe. It contains at preſent near a thouſand families, and has preſerved its name of Alcaſſar-Quiber; that is to ſay, grand palace, to diſtinguiſh it from Alcaſſar-Seguer, or little palace, which this Prince alſo built on the ſea ſhore of the ſtraits of Gibraltar.

Alcaſſar-Quiber was beſieged by the Portugueſe in 1503; but, the Moors coming to its relief, they were forced to renounce the attempt.

Excluſive of theſe four inland cities,

there are ſome other towns toward the ſouth, which lie out of the way, and the ſituations of which remain undetermined.

On the far ſide of the kingdom of Fez, in the province of Shaus, or Chaus, near the river Mulluvia, is a walled town, called Dubudu, on a height, ſurrounded by fertile vallies. This town, ſuppoſed to have been built by the ancient Africans, was a conſiderable place in the ſixteenth century, when the race of Merini reigned at Fez. At preſent it contains few inhabitants, though it has a garriſon and a confidential Alcayde to guard the frontier.

Between Fez and the province of Rif ſtands the caſtle of Teſa, pleaſantly ſituated, and ſurrounded by charming vales. This was formerly a populous town, but now, like the preceding, contains few inhabitants, with a governor, and ſome ſoldiers.

In moſt of the provinces are walled caſtles without artillery, in which the Baſhaws and

and Governors live, and many more, wholly uninhabited, and falling to ruin. That of Mediona, in the province of Temſena, two days journey from Sallee, is inhabited by ſome Moors and Jewiſh families, where they fabricate *Haiks* and coarſe carpets. Another has been built at ſome diſtance to curb the mountaineers of Shavoya, who often ravage the country.

One of the moſt remarkable, from its ſituation, the reſiſtance it might be able to make, and the labour beſtowed on it, is the caſtle of Bulahuan, in the province of Duquella, on the banks of the Morbeya. This caſtle ſtands in a wild and barren ſpot, on the ſummit of a commanding eminence more than two hundred feet high, forming a pyramid, the angles of which are rounded, while a large river runs beneath, that, from its depth and rapidity, inſpires a kind of horror.

This caſtle was built at the cloſe of the thirteenth century by Muley Abdulmomen, firſt king of the race of the Moahedins; but Muley Abdallah, ſon of Muley

Iſhmael, made large additions; and, during the different revolutions that diſturbed his reign, he was here often beſieged by the revolted Moors of the northern provinces. This Prince had ſubterranean paſſages dug at a great expence to procure water from the river; but as he could not ſecure his water-carriers from the fire of the muſketry, he built conduits, which brought the waters from the neighbouring mountains; and the ruins of which are ſtill viſible on the road from Bulahuan to Morocco.

I lodged in this caſtle, in 1781, ſpite of the reſiſtance of ſome negroes, to whom the keeping of it was entruſted. The apartments are long and high. The proſpect from the terraces loſes itſelf on the immenſe plains of Duquella, which are only ſeen with pleaſure when covered with green berbage; for a day's journey may be gone without ſight of a ſingle tree. Near the caſtle is a village, and another before paſſing the river; each of which contains about two hundred houſes, or thatched huts, being piles of rough-hewn ſtone without mortar. Both theſe villages, inhabited

habited by Moors, are exempt from taxes, but are obliged to give the neceſſary aſſiſtance in croſſing the river. The lonely ſituation of this caſtle, naked and expoſed to every wind that blows, and the barrenneſs of the ſandy valley in which it ſtands, inſpire a kind of gloomy horror. But, on the contrary, with equal pleaſure and aſtoniſhment, well-cultivated gardens are ſeen below, on the banks of the river, with their orchards and vineyards. Each garden contains a windlaſs and a bucket neceſſary to ſupply it with water.

Among barbarous people like theſe, who have no idea of the arts, we are taught to diſtinguiſh, with more preciſion, the diſtance there is between nations, and the power which neceſſity has in awakening the inventive faculties of man. The paſſage over the river is another proof to the ſame effect. The only ferry boat is a raft, compoſed, for the occaſion, of reeds, to which ſkins full of wind are tied with cords, made from the palm leaf. This is ſuſtained by ſeveral Moors, who, ſwimming, guide and ſupport it by their ſhoulders,

ders, though the rapidity of the current is ſuch as to drive it down the ſtream a mile in an inſtant *. On this crazy raft travellers and their effects are tranſported. The mules ſwim acroſs, driven by the muleteers. In September 1781, the waters being low, becauſe of the heats, I forded this rapid river; a thing which had not happened before for five-and-twenty years.

The Emperor uſually paſſes the Morbeya above Bulahuan, where the ſtream is leſs rapid, on a kind of temporary bridge. It is formed of two thick oſier cables, faſtened to large piles on each bank of the river. Theſe cables are formed into a kind of hurdle by croſs ſtakes paſſed through them of about five feet long, and over which ſods, ſix inches thick, are laid. This bridge, in conſequence of its own weight, reſts, and is ſupported by the current in the middle; it has indeed

* We read in Livy, that, during the ſecond Punic war, when Hannibal went from Spain to Italy, a part of his army paſſed the Rhone, the Ticinus, and the Po, on goat ſkins filled with wind.

but

but little to bear, the Emperor not paſſing with a numerous train.

I have ſtill to ſpeak of the kingdom of Tafilet, of which I can give no very accurate idea, Europeans not being ſuffered to paſs through it. Tafilet extends along the eaſt ſide of Mount Atlas; its habitations conſiſt but of ſome fifteen hundred ſcattered houſes, ſeveral of which have a tower for defence, and each ſtanding amidſt an encloſure of gardens, cultivated grounds, and palm-tree plantations; the whole forming a variegated and pleaſant country, interſected by many rivers and rivulets deſcending from the eaſt of Mount Atlas, and which ſerve to water their lands. Their dates, which are very ſmall, but very excellent, conſtitute the wealth of, and are food for, the people, who even give them to their horſes. By ancient cuſtom, perhaps, for it is contrary to the precepts of the Coran, brandy is made in Tafilet of dates, which is exceedingly ſtrong, and drank ſo immoderately, by the Sharifs, that wine produces no effect on them whatever.

Tafilet is the abode of a race of the Sharifs, the moſt of which are poor. They employ themſelves in their grounds and gardens, and, being always divided among themſelves, the ſpirit of pillage inceſſantly arms the ſtrong againſt the weak. The town of Tafilet, after which the kingdom was named under the Sharifs of the reigning houſe, is not an ancient city. The name comes from the word *Fileli*, for ſo the inhabitants of theſe countries are called, as are the ſtuffs and carpets which are there manufactured. In the ſame territory is the town of Sugulmeſſa, which appears to have been known to the Romans. Leo Africanus ſays it was anciently called Meſſa, that is to ſay, victory ; and that a Roman general, having there followed and vanquiſhed the Numidians, reſtored the town, and gave it the name of Sigillummeſſæ, or the ſeal of victory ; whence comes Sugulmeſſa.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Climate and Soil of the Empire of Morocco.

THE climate of the Empire of Morocco is in general ſufficiently temperate, healthy, and not ſo hot as its ſituation might lead us to ſuppoſe. The chain of mountains which form Atlas, on the eaſtern ſide, defends it from the eaſt winds, that would ſcorch up the earth, were they frequent. The ſummit of theſe mountains is always covered with ſnow, which falls ſo heavily in winter as often to bury the *Brebes*, who inhabit theſe vallies. Their abundant deſcending ſtreams ſpread verdure through the neighbourhood, make the winter more cold, and temper the heats of ſummer. The ſea on the weſt ſide, which extends along the coaſt from north to ſouth, alſo refreſhes the land with regular breezes, that ſeldom vary, according to their ſeaſons. At a diſ-

diſtance from the ſea, within land, the heat is ſo great, that the rivulets become dry in ſummer; but, as in hot countries dews are plentiful, the nights are there always cool.

The rains are tolerably regular in winter, in the climate of Morocco, and are even abundant, though the atmoſphere is not loaded with clouds as in northern latitudes. Thoſe rains which fall by intervals are favourable to the earth, and increaſe its fecundity. In January the country is covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers. Barley is cut in March, but the wheat harveſt is in June. All fruits are early in this climate; in forward years the vintage is over in the beginning of September, and I have eat grapes, tolerably ripe, on the thirtieth of May; but this was an extraordinary caſe.

Though in general there is more uniformity and leſs variation in hot than in northern climates, the firſt are nevertheleſs expoſed to the intemperance of weather: too heavy rains often impede the harveſt; and

and drowth has ſtill greater inconveniences, for it enſures the propagation of locuſts. Theſe fatal inſects, which have ſo often laid deſolate hot countries, ſometimes commit the moſt dreadful ravages in the empire of Morocco. They come from the ſouth, ſpread themſelves over the lands, and increaſe to infinity, when the rains of ſpring are not ſufficiently heavy to deſtroy the eggs they depoſit on the earth. The large locuſts, which are near three inches long, are not the moſt deſtructive; as they fly, they yield to the current of wind, which hurries them into the ſea, or into ſandy deſerts, where they periſh with hunger or fatigue. The young locuſts, that cannot fly, are the moſt ruinous; they are about fifteen lines in length, and the thickneſs of a gooſe-quill; they creep over the country in ſuch multitudes, that they leave not a blade of graſs behind; and the noiſe of their feeding announces their approach at ſome diſtance. The devaſtations of locuſts increaſe the price of proviſions, and often occaſion famines; but the Moors find a kind of compenſation in making food of theſe inſects;

prodi-

prodigious quantities are brought to market ſalted and dried like red herrings. They have an oily and rancid taſte, which habit only can render agreeable; they are eat here, however, with pleaſure.

The winters in Morocco are not ſevere, nor is there an abſolute need of fire. In the coldeſt weather the thermometer ſeldom ſinks to more than five degrees above the freezing point; and, during a long reſidence, I never ſaw it lower than to two degrees and an half. The inequality of climate felt at Paris is not found here; in the former there is ſometimes a variation of twenty-four degrees in twenty-four hours. This degree of variation, at Sallee, on the weſtern coaſt, is the exact difference between winter and ſummer. The longeſt days in Morocco are not more than fourteen hours, and the ſhorteſt conſequently not leſs than ten.

The ſoil of Morocco is exceedingly fertile; the land, light and ſandy on the weſtern coaſt, contains in itſelf ſalts ſufficient to make it fruitful. To theſe ſalts, and to the

the abundant dews, muſt we attribute a humidity almoſt corroſive, which, without making any ſenſible impreſſion on bodies, quickly covers with ruſt, iron, ſteel, metals, and even the keys and ſciſſors carried in the pocket; an effect never produced in northern latitudes. The ſoil is moſt fruitful in the inland provinces. On the weſtern coaſt it is in general light and ſtony, and is better adapted to the vine and olive than the culture of wheat. They annually burn, before the September rains, the ſtubble, which is left rather long; and this and the dung of cattle, every day turned to paſture, form the ſole manure the land receives. The ſoil requires but little labour, and the plowing is ſo light that the furrows are ſcarcely ſix inches deep; for which reaſon we perceive, in ſome provinces, wooden plough-ſhares are uſed for cheapneſs. It is no doubt a law of nature that, in hot climates, where men are little inclined to induſtry, there induſtry ſhould be leaſt neceſſary.

CHAP. VI.

Fruits, Productions, and Mines.

THE Empire of Morocco might ſupply itſelf with all neceſſaries, as well from the abundance and nature of its products as from the few natural or artificial wants of the Moors, occaſioned by climate or education. Its wealth conſiſts in the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil; its corn, fruits, flocks, flax, ſalt, gums, and wax, would not only ſupply its neceſſities, but yield a ſuperflux, which might become an object of immenſe trade and barter with other nations. Such numerous exports might return an inexhauſtible treaſure, were its government fixed and ſecure, and did ſubjects enjoy the fruits of their labour and their property in ſafety.

The increaſe of corn in Morocco is often as ſixty to one, and thirty is held to be but an indifferent harveſt. The exportation of

of this corn is burdened by the laws, and by the prejudices of an intolerant religion, which permit them not to ſell their ſuper-abundance to infidels. The property of land is beſide entirely precarious, ſo that each individual grows little more than ſufficient for his own wants. Hence it happens, when the harveſt fails, from the ravages of locuſts, or the intemperance of ſeaſons, theſe people are expoſed to miſery, ſuch as Europeans have no conception of; who enjoy a ſtable adminiſtration, which obviates and provides for all their wants. They alſo have intereſted conveniences and motives, and that confidence which is founded on the faith of civilized nations. They have the obligation of reciprocally aiding each other's wants on urgent occaſions, and rendering the moſt prompt and active ſuccour; all which cannot exiſt under governments ſo ſtrangely arbitrary as that of Morocco, where every thing is ſubordinate to the caprice of the Sovereign, and the law of the moment.

The Moors, naturally indolent, take little care of the culture of their fruits.

Oranges, lemons, and thick-ſkinned fruits, the trees of which require little nurture, grow in the open fields, and there are very large plantations of them found, which they take the trouble to water to increaſe their product. Their vines, which yield excellent grapes, are planted as far as the thirty-third degree, as in our ſouthern provinces, and are equally vigorous with ours. But at Morocco, where they yield a large and delicious grape, they are ſupported by vine-poles five and ſix feet above ground; and, as they are obliged to be watered, the little wine made, there is ſeldom preſerved.

Figs are very good in ſome part of the empire, but toward the ſouth they are ſcarceley ripe before they are full of worms; the heats and night dews may, perhaps, contribute to this ſpeedy decay. Melons, for the ſame reaſon, are rarely eatable; they have but a moment of maturity, which paſſes ſo rapidly that it is with difficulty ſeized. Water melons are every where reared, and in ſome provinces are excellent. Apricots, apples, and pears, are

in tolerable plenty in the neighbourhood of Fez and Mequinez, where water is leſs ſcarce, and the climate more temperate. But in the plain, which extends along the weſtern coaſt, theſe delicate fruits are very indifferent, have leſs juice or taſte, and the peaches there do not ripen.

The tree called Raquette in France, or the prickly pear, or the Barbary fig, is plentifully found in the Empire of Morocco, and is planted round vineyards and gardens, becauſe that its thick and thorny leaves, which are wonderfully prolific, form impenetrable hedges. From theſe leaves a fruit is produced, covered with a thorny ſkin, that muſt be taken off with care. This fruit is mild, and full of very hard, ſmall, kernels. The Spaniards call it Toona, which leads us to ſuppoſe they received this plant from Tunis; and, as it may well have paſſed from Andaluſia among the weſtern Moors, the latter call it the Chriſtian fig, while in Europe it is more juſtly called the Barbary fig.

The olive is every where found along

the coaſt, but particularly to the ſouth. The trees are planted in rows, which form alleys the more agreeable becauſe the trees are large, round, and high in proportion. They take care to water them, the better to preſerve the fruit. Oil of olives might here be plentifully extracted, were taxation fixed and moderate; but, ſuch has been the variation it has undergone, that, the culture of olives is ſo neglected as ſcarcely to produce oil ſufficient for internal conſumption. In 1768 and 1769 there were near forty thouſand quintals of oil exported from Mogodor and Santa-Cruz to Marſeilles, and ten years after it coſt fifteen pence per pound. Thus do the vices of government expoſe nations to dearth and famine, who live in the very boſom of abundance.

From the province of Duquella, to the ſouth of the empire, there are foreſts of the Arga tree, which is thorny, irregular in its form, and produces a ſpecies of almond exceedingly hard, with a ſkin as corroſive as that of wall-nuts. Its fruit conſiſts of two almonds, rough and bitter, from which an oil is produced very excellent for frying.

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In order to uſe this oil, it muſt be purified by fire, and ſet in a flame, which muſt be ſuffered to die away of itſelf; the moſt greaſy and corroſive particles are conſumed, and its acrid qualities are thus wholly deſtroyed. When the Moors gather theſe fruits, they bring their goats under the trees, and, as the fruit falls, the animals carefully nibble off the ſkins, and then greedily feed.

In the ſame province alſo is found the tree which produces gum Sandarac; alſo that which yields the tranſparent gum; but the latter is moſt productive, and affords the beſt gum, the farther we proceed ſouthward, where the heat and night dews may, perhaps, render the vegetable ſecretion more pure and copious.

In the province of Suz, between the twenty-fifth and thirtieth degrees, the inhabitants have an almond harveſt, which varies little, becauſe of the mildneſs of the climate; but the fruit is ſmall, for which reaſon they take litttle care of the trees, and they degenerate with time.

The palm tree is common in the ſouthern provinces of Morocco; but dates ripen there with difficulty, and few are good, except in the province of Suz, and toward Tafilet, where they are ſtill better, becauſe of its diſtance from the ſea.

On the coaſt of Sallee and Mamora there are foreſts of Oak, which produce acorns near two inches long. They taſte like cheſnuts, and are eat raw and roaſted. This fruit is called Bellote, and is ſent to Cadiz, where the Spaniſh ladies hold it in great eſtimation.

The empire of Morocco alſo produces much wax; but, ſince it has been ſubjected by the Emperor to the payment of additional duties, the country people have very much neglected the care of their hives.

Salt abounds in the empire, and in ſome places on the coaſt requires only the trouble of gathering. Independent of the ſalt-pits, formed by the evaporation of the ſoft water, there are pits and lakes in the country whence great quantities are obtained. It is carried

carried even as far as Tombut, whence it paſſes to the interior parts of Africa.

The Moors cultivate their lands only in proportion to their wants; hence two thirds of the empire, at leaſt, lie waſte. Here the Doum, that is, the fan, or wild palm tree, grows in abundance, and from which theſe people, when neceſſity renders them induſtrious, find great advantage. The ſhepherds, mule drivers, camel drivers, and travellers, gather the leaves, of which they make mats, fringes, baſkets, hats, *ſhooaris*, or large wallets to carry corn, twine, ropes, girths, and covers for their pack-ſaddles. This plant, with which alſo they heat their ovens, produces a mild and reſinous fruit, that ripens in September and October. It is in form like the raiſin, contains a kernel, and is aſtringent, and very proper to temper and counteract the effects of the watery and laxative fruits, of which theſe people in ſummer make an immoderate uſe. That Power, which is ever provident for all, has ſpread this wild plant over their deſerts to ſupply

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an infinity of wants, that would otherwiſe heavily burden a people ſo poor.

Unacquainted with the ſources of wealth of which their anceſtors were poſſeſſed, the Moors pretend there are gold and ſilver mines in the empire, which the Emperors will not permit to be worked, leſt their ſubjects ſhould thus find means to ſhake off their yoke. It is not improbable but that the mountains of Atlas may contain unexplored riches; but there is no good proof that they have ever yielded gold and ſilver. There are known iron mines in the ſouth, but the working of them has been found ſo expenſive that the natives would rather uſe imported iron, notwithſtanding the heavy duty it pays, by which its price is doubled. There are copper mines in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, which are not only ſufficient for the ſmall conſumption of the empire, where copper is little uſed, but are alſo an object of exportation, and would become much more ſo, were the duties leſs immoderate. Taxation every where impoſes ſhackles, deſtructive

ſtructive to the induſtry of man, and the proſperity of nations.

After having ſeen that the true riches of the Empire of Morocco conſiſt in the abundance of neceſſary products, and the ignorance the inhabitants have of artificial wants, it will be a ſubject worthy curioſity to enquire whence came the gold and ſilver which the Moors accumulated in former ages; and what was the ſource of thoſe treaſures, the remainder of which the Sharifs, after the fifteenth century, diſſipated, and which inſenſibly dwindled to annihilation.

Time has thrown this enquiry into ſuch obſcurity as to diſable us from finding poſitive proofs; yet ſuffer me to hazard a few conjectures, that ſeem founded in probability.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Commerce of the Moors in former Times.

WHAT connection there anciently was between the Moors who border on Africa, and the more interior nations, we can only conjecture. It ſeems probable that the Carthaginians, who were the moſt induſtrious and enlightened people that have governed in Africa, as ardent in acquiring riches as in extending their power, were the firſt who, after having formed ſettlements on their borders to increaſe communication, muſt have eſtabliſhed caravans to exchange their products for the gold, and productions, of interior Africa. This communication ſeems to be proved by the elephants, which were that way obtained, and with much greater eaſe than at preſent, and which formidable animals conſtituted in thoſe ages the ſtrength of armies. It may be their wilderneſſes were leſs deſert,

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and that they were watered by more ſtreams; the courſe of which have, perhaps, been turned by time, or other cauſes. If this be ſo, the tribes, that approach their borders, may now have been driven to a much greater diſtance from each other by theſe deſerts, their burning ſands, and the want of ſubſiſtence, which would no longer permit their being traverſed with their former facility.

Independent of ſuch natural effects, the conſequence of thoſe revolutions to which time daily ſubjects the earth, the changes that the minds and manners of men are likewiſe liable to muſt neceſſarily have influenced their intercourſe with each other, and the commerce of nations. The progreſs which navigation made, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, muſt have affected the commerce of Africa, and have inſenſibly attracted it from the centre toward the ſea coaſt, on the weſt, which approaches the equator, and where the French, Portugueſe, Dutch, and Engliſh, each emulative of the other, have ſucceſſively formed eſtabliſhments.

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The great rivers of Africa, which empty themſelves in theſe ſeas, united its utmoſt boundaries, and the ports of Europe then received* gold duſt, ivory, ambergreaſe, Guinea pepper, and other productions, of inland Africa; the excluſive enjoyment of which had, till then, been confined to the bordering nations, and were to them become objects of luxury. The firſt ſucceſs of this diſcovery excited the ambition of Europe, which did not then foreſee thoſe diviſions and ills that would thence reſult. The negroes, however, at the ſight of our ſhips, had a foreboding of their deſtiny; they durſt not enter, fearing the white men, whom, till then, they had utterly unknown; they imagined they beheld their maſters, and not their friends; but the inſinuating affability of the Normans, and

* We read, in La Martiniere, that the firſt expeditions were undertaken to the coaſt of Guinea in 1364 by the adventurers of Dieppe, who, at that time, had the utmoſt ſucceſs till the year 1410, when the civil wars of France brought this riſing commerce into neglect. The Portugueſe, then maſters of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, formed ſettlements on the Gold coaſt.

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the trifling preſents they beſtowed, gained their confidence.

Wretched nations, how might you ſuſpect, how might you dread theſe demonſtrations of friendſhip, and the toys with which your ignorance was dazzled, were the pledges of approaching ſlavery! Scarcely was the new world diſcovered before it was depopulated by the falſe and ferocious politics of its conquerors. Negroes were tranſported thither in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and the enumeration of all thoſe who, from that time to this, have there been held in ſlavery, is indeed fearful. It ſeems poſſible that we muſt one day carry back the remains of theſe nations to repeople the deſerts of Africa, when the avarice of Europeans ſhall have made them wholly deſolate. I muſt intreat pardon for theſe reflections; they have led me ſomewhat from my ſubject.

After the deſtruction of Carthage and Rome, the Moors, having had no commercial intercourſe with Europe till to-

ward the fourteenth century, muſt have confined their trade to the more central nations of Africa, with whom they reſpectively interchanged their products. There they probably vended their merchandiſe of woollen ſtuffs, ſheep ſkins *, cloth, corn, ſalt, and dried fruits.

In exchange for theſe, which were produced by labour only, and the conſumption of which was, perhaps, very great, they obtained gold duſt, ivory, Guinea pepper, and ſlaves. Such, it appears to me, muſt have been the firſt ſource of the wealth of the Empire of Morocco. The Moors on the confines of Africa might ſtill poſſeſs nearly the ſame reſources, had they the ſame facility of communication. Thoſe of Morocco, whoſe ſituation is moſt central, have, perhaps, profited the leaſt by them during the three laſt centuries, either by the fre-

* Sheep ſkins, unſheared, ſerve as mattreſſes, and to ſit on among theſe people; and we may obſerve that, in the interior parts of Africa, the ſheep have hair inſtead of wool, while the men have wool inſtead of hair on their heads.

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quency of revolutions which their empire has undergone, or becauſe their deſpotic government has ſo entirely ſhackled trade and induſtry. The ſmall degree of barter which the people ſtill maintain with Tombut, and the countries nearer to the Niger, give a colour of truth to my conjectures concerning the commerce of theſe nations in ancient times, and of which the modern Moors have no remembrance.

The inhabitants of Tunis and Tripoli, who have a different kind of government, gain more advantage by their intercourſe with the people bordering on the Niger. They alſo occaſionally make voyages into Egypt, to Aſia, and Conſtantinople, whither they carry negroes, male and female; while the Moors of Morocco ſcarcely obtain ſlaves ſufficient for their own ſervice.

From theſe, or ſimilar ſuppoſitions, we may obtain ſome ideas concerning the original ſource of the great wealth formerly

found among the Moors. We ſhall ſee, in a future chapter, what is the preſent commercial intercourſe between the empire of Morocco and the nations of Europe.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Inhabitants of Morocco.

THE inhabitants of the Empire of Morocco, known by the name of Moors, are a mixture of Arabian and African nations, formed into tribes; with the origin of whom we are but imperfectly acquainted. Theſe tribes, each ſtrangers to the other, and ever divided by traditional hatred or prejudice, ſeldom mingle *. It ſeems probable that moſt of the *caſts*, who occupy the provinces of Morocco, have been repulſed from the eaſtern to the weſtern Africa, during thoſe different revolutions by which this part of the world has been agitated; that they have followed the ſtandard of their chiefs, whoſe names they

* Some have imagined they perceived among theſe people, notwithſtanding the intervention of ages, thoſe family averſions which were remarkable among the people of Canaan, to whom the Moors appear to have owed their origin.

have preſerved; and that by theſe they, as well as the countries they inhabit, are diſtinguiſhed. At preſent theſe tribes are called Cafiles, or Cabiles, from the Arabic word Kobeila; and they are ſo numerous that it is impoſſible to have a knowledge of them all. In the northern provinces are enumerated *Beni-Garir*, *Beni-Guernid*, *Beni-Manſor*, *Beni-Oriegan*, *Beni-Chelid*, *Beni-Juſeph*, *Beni-Zaruol*, *Beni-Razin*, *Beni-Gebara*, *Beni-Buſeibet*, *Beni-Gualid*, *Beni-Feder*, *Beni-Gueiaghel*, *Beni-Guaſeval*, *Beni-Guamud*, &c.; toward the eaſt are, *Beni-Sayd*, *Beni-Teuſin*, *Beni-Ieſſetin*, *Beni-Buhalel*, *Beni-Telid*, *Beni-Soffian*, *Beni-Becil*, *Beni-Zequer*, &c.; and ſtill farther to the ſouth, thoſe of *Beni-Fonſecara*, *Beni-Aros*, *Beni-Haſſen*, *Beni-Mager*, *Beni-Baſil*, *Beni-Seba*, with an infinite number of others *. The people who depend on Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, are in like manner di-

* We muſt obſerve, that the word *Ben*, that is to ſay, Son, is uſually employed to ſignify family deſcendants; thus, *Beni-Haſſen* and *Beni-Juſeph* conſequently ſignify the children, or deſcendants, of Haſſen and of Joſeph. The Moors, as a more extenſive generic term, call men *Ben-Adem*; that is, the deſcendants or ſons of Adam.

vided into an infinite number of theſe tribes, who all are ſo ancient that they themſelves have not the leaſt idea of their origin.

We ſhould divide the different tribes that people this empire into two principal claſſes, that is to ſay, the Brebes and the Moors. I ſhall not dwell upon the ſignification of the name Brebes, which the mountaineers have acquired and preſerved; conjectures only can be formed on the ſubject, the incertitude concerning the origin of theſe people, and the epocha of their firſt ſettlements, being conſidered.

The Brebes, as well as the Moors, no doubt, adopted the Mahometan religion, analogous as it was to their manners and chief cuſtoms, on the firſt invaſion of the Arabs; but they are ignorant, and little faithful to its precepts, except to that which inſpires them with a hatred for other religions. Mahometaniſm has not effaced the ancient habits and prejudices of theſe people, for they eat ſwine's fleſh, and, in thoſe places where there are vineyards, drink wine; and

good reaſon why, ſay they, we make it ourſelves. In the ſouthern parts of Mount Atlas they put it into earthen jars the better to preſerve it, and into barrels made from the trunks of hollow trees, the but-ends of which they ſpread over with pitch, keep it in caverns, and even in water. In the province of Rif, toward the north, they give it a ſlight boiling, which deprives it of its fumes, and makes it leſs intoxicating; they, perhaps, alſo think, that this renders it cogenial to the ſpirit of the Koran.

Buried in their mountains, the Brebes maintain their reſentment againſt the Moors, whom, confounding them with the Arabs, they regard as uſurpers. In theſe aſylums they contract a ferocity of character, and ſtrength of body, which render them more proper for war and labour than the Moors of the plain in general are; the independence they profeſs imparts more of character to their countenance; but it is neceſſary to have lived long among theſe nations to perceive the difference. Subjected to the Emperors of Morocco by religious

ligious prejudices, they ſhake off his authority whenever they think proper, and, intrenched as they are in their mountains, to attack and vanquiſh them are difficult.

The Brebes have a language of their own, and never marry but among each other. They have tribes or Caſiles among them who are exceedingly powerful, both by their number and courage. Such are thoſe of *Gomera* on the borders of Rif, of *Gayroan* toward Fez, of *Timoor* extending along mount Atlás from Mequinez to Tedla, of *Shavoya* from Tedla to Duquella, and of *Miſhboya* from Morocco to the ſouth. The Emperor of Morocco keeps the children of the chiefs of theſe tribes at court as hoſtages for their fidelity.

The Brebes have no diſtinction of dreſs; they are always clothed in woolen like the Moors, and, though they inhabit the mountains, ſeldom wear caps. Theſe mountaineers, as well as their wives, have exceedingly fine teeth, and ſhew ſigns of vigour, which diſtinguiſh them from the other tribes. It is common for them to

hunt lions and tigers, and the very mothers have a cuſtom of decorating their children with a tiger's claw, or the remnant of a lion's hide on the head, thinking that by this means they acquire ſtrength and courage. The ſame kind of ſuperſtition, no doubt, occaſions young wives to give their huſbands theſe ſort of amulets. The Brebes and the Shellu having a language common to themſelves, and unknown to the Moors, muſt both have had the ſame origin, notwithſtanding the difference there is in their mode of life. The Shellu live on the frontiers of the empire toward the ſouth; their population is by no means ſo great as that of the Brebes, nor are they ſo ferocious; they do not marry with other tribes; and, though they practiſe many ſuperſtitious rites, they are faithful obſervers of their religion.

After the Brebes, who are conſiderably populous, I ſhall ſpeak of the Moors, the greateſt number of whom are extended over the country, and the remainder inhabit the cities.

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The former, that is, the Moors of the country, live in tents, and have freſh encampments every year to give reſt to the land, and obtain freſh paſturage; but they are not allowed to remove, without having firſt informed their governor. Like the ancient Arabs, they are entirely addicted to a country life. Their encampments, which they call Douhars, compoſed of numerous tents, form a creſcent, ſomewhat narrowed toward the end, or elſe are erected in two parallel lines; and their flocks and herds returning from paſture occupy the centre. They ſometimes cloſe the entrance of the Douhars with thorn faggots, but ſet no other guards than a number of dogs, which bark unceaſingly at the approach of a ſtranger. Each Douhar has its chief, who is ſubordinate to a ſtill ſuperior officer, appointed to ſuperintend and govern a number of theſe encampments; and many of theſe leſſer diviſions are again reunited under the government of a Baſhaw; ſome of whom have a thouſand Douhars under their command.

The tents of the Moors are ſomewhat of a conic

a conic form, are ſeldom more than eight or ten feet high in the centre, and from twenty to five and twenty in length. Like thoſe of the remoteſt antiquity, their figure is that of a ſhip overſet, the keel of which is only ſeen. Theſe tents are made of twine, compoſed of goat's hair, camel's wool, and the leaves of the wild palm, ſo that they keep out water; but, being black, they produce a diſagreeable effect at a diſtant view.

The Moors in camp live in the utmoſt ſimplicity, and preſent a faithful picture of the earth's inhabitants in the firſt ages. Education, the temperance of the climate, and the rigour of the government, diminiſh the wants of theſe people, who find in their own provinces, and the milk and wool of their flocks, every thing neceſſary for their food and cloathing. It is their cuſtom to have ſeveral wives, a luxury much leſs felt among people who have few wants than among thoſe who have many; it is even advantageous to œconomy, the woman having charge of all domeſtic affairs. Beneath their ill-ſecured tents they are employed in milking their cows to ſupply their

their daily wants, and, when the milk is in abundance, they make butter. They ſort and ſift their wheat and barley, gather vegetables, and daily grind flour with a mill compoſed of two round ſtones, eighteen inches in diameter; in the upper one of which a handel is fixed while it turns on an axle, which projects from that beneath. They daily make bread, which they bake well, or ill, as it happens, between two earthern plates, and very often on the ground heated by fire.

Their common food is Cooscooſoo, a paſte made of flour in the form of ſmall grains, in the manner of Italian paſtes. This Cooscooſoo they dreſs by the vapour of broth in a round diſh, with holes like a colander, and that is fixed in the kettle in which they boil their meat. The Cooscooſoo, contained in this deep plate, or colander, is ſlowly ſoftened, and prepared by the vapour of the broth, with which they take care to moiſten it occaſionally.

Simple as this food is, it is very nouriſhing, and alſo very agreeable, when thoſe habi-

habitual prejudices are overcome which each nation has for its own cuſtoms, and which cannot be eradicated but by an intercourſe with other nations. The common people eat their Cooscooſoo with milk or butter indifferently; but thoſe more at their eaſe, as the governors of provinces, or their lieutenants, who live in the centre of their encampments, have it dreſſed by a rich broth made with mutton, poultry, and pigeons, or hedge-hogs, and mix it afterward with freſh butter.

Theſe officers receive ſtrangers in their camps with like cordiality to that with which the gueſts of Jacob and Laban were received. They kill a ſheep on their arrival, which they immediately put to the ſpit, and, if they have not a ſpit ready, a wooden one is made; when roaſted by a very quick fire, and ſerved up in a wooden platter, their mutton looks and eats exceedingly well. I have often been preſent at ſimilar repaſts, the ſimplicity of which I reſpected. I imagined myſelf in a dream, and tranſported under the tents of the Patriarchs.

The

The employment of the women is alſo to prepare their wool, ſpin, and weave in looms hung lengthways in their tents*. Theſe looms are formed by a liſt of an ell and a half long, to which the threads of the warp are fixed at one end, and at the other on a roller of equal length; the weight of which, being ſuſpended, keeps them ſtretched. The threads of the warp are ſo hung as to be readily interſected. Inſtead of ſhuttles, the women paſs the thread of the woof through the warp with their fingers, and with an iron comb, having a handle, préſs the woof to give a body to their cloth. Each piece, of about five ells long, and an ell and a half wide, is called a *haick*; it receives neither dreſſing milling nor dying, but is immediately fit for uſe; it is the conſtant dreſs of the Moors of the country, is without ſeam, and incapable of varying according to the caprices of faſhion. When dirty, it is

* Theſe looms are uſed in the country, but the looms of the town weavers are like ours. Each individual buys ſpun worſted at the market, and has it wove according to his own fancy.

waſhed;

waſhed; the Moor is wrapped up in it day and night, and this haick is the living model of the drapery of the ancients.

The country Moors wear only their woollen ſtuffs, without ſhirts or drawers, linen among theſe nations being an article of luxury known only to the court and city. The wardrobe of a country Moor, who is in eaſy circumſtances, conſiſts in a haick for ſummer, another for winter, a cape, a red cap, and a pair of ſlippers. The common people, both of country and town, wear a kind of tunic of white grey, or mixed woollen cloth, which deſcends half way down the leg, with large ſleeves and a cape, much reſembling the dreſs of the Carthuſian friars.

The country women likewiſe wear only a haick tied round their waiſt, the folds of which, covering the neck and ſhoulders, are faſtened by ſilver claſps. The finery of which the country women are moſt deſirous are large ear-rings, made in the ſhape of a creſcent, or ſilver rings, with bracelets and rings for the ſmall of the leg.

Theſe

Theſe they wear, amidſt all their employments, leſs from vanity than becauſe they know not the uſe of drawers, or cheſts, in which to lay them up. They alſo wear necklaces of ſmall-coloured glaſs beads, or clove grains ſtrung on a ſilken thread.

Beſide theſe embelliſhments, the country women, to make themſelves more beautiful, paint the ſkin of their face, neck, boſom, and almoſt of their whole body, with the forms of flowers and ornaments. Theſe impreſſions are made with models, in which are the points of needles that ſlightly raſe the ſkin, under which a blue colour is inſerted, or gunpowder pulverized, which is never effaced. The cuſtom is exceedingly ancient, and has been common to numerous nations in Tartary, Aſia, the ſouthern parts of Europe, and, perhaps, over the whole earth. It is not, however, general to all the Mooriſh tribes, the women of ſome of which bear on the forehead, or on the chin, a croſs impearled at the four ends, or elſe the ſame croſs as if pendent from a chain, the figure of which, traced round the neck, deſcends to the

the boſom. Theſe tribes are probably deſcendants of thoſe who formerly were ſubjected to the Chriſtians of Africa, and who, to avoid paying taxes like the Moors, thus imprinted croſſes upon their ſkins that they might paſs for Chriſtian. This cuſtom, which originally might ſerve to diſtinguiſh tribes by their religion, or from each other, afterward became a mode of decoration, that was habitually retained, after all remembrance of its origin was effaced *.

The country Moors regard their wives leſs as companions than as ſlaves, deſtined to labour; tilling the ground excepted, they have the care of every thing; and I may add, to the diſgrace of humanity, that in certain poor parts women are ſeen with a mule, an aſs, or ſome other animal, drawing the plough. When the Moors remove their Douhars, or encampments, the men, all ſeated on the ground in a circle,

* I had the curioſity to make all poſſible inquiries concerning the caſts who follow this cuſtom, and find they came originally from the neighbourhood of Tunis; which circumſtance ſeems to juſtify my conjectures.

with

with their elbows on their knees, converſe together, while the women take down the tents, pack up the effects, and load their camels, or oxen; the old afterward carry bundles, and the young their children upon their backs in blankets tied round the waiſt. In the ſouthern parts the women are alſo obliged to look after the horſes, clean, ſaddle, and bridle them, while the huſband, always deſpotic in theſe climates, commands, and ſeems only born to be obeyed.

The country women walk unveiled; their ſkin is tanned, nor can they make abſolute pretenſions to beauty. In ſome places, however, they paint their cheeks, and every where ſtain their hair, their feet, and their finger-ends, with an herb called henna, which produces a deep ſaffron colour. This muſt have been an ancient cuſtom among the nations of Aſia. Abu-Beker ſtained his eyebrows and beard of the ſame colour, and he has been imitated by many of his ſucceſſors. A reverence for religion might have introduced the cuſtom, which the women afterwards

made ornamental. It may, however, ſeem more probable that the cuſtom of painting the beard and hair, of plucking it up by the roots, and ſhaving the head in warm countries, firſt originated in cleanlineſs, for the ſame reaſon as combs are uſed in thoſe countries where the hair is worn.

The marriage ceremonies of the Moors, who live in tents, much reſemble thoſe of the cities; a deſcription of which will be ſeen in its place. The nuptials of the Douhar are in general more gay and ſplendid, and they carefully invite paſſing ſtrangers, that they may contribute to the expence of the feſtival; and in this they are more intereſted than hoſpitable.

The tribes diſperſed over the country uſually confine their marriages each within itſelf, ſeldom intermarrying with other tribes. They are always embroiled by their prejudices, which deſcend from generation to generation, or which, feebly ſlumbering, awake if a camel happen to be loſt, or on the leaſt diſpute concerning paſturage, or wells of water. Intermarriages among

theſe tribes, far from producing harmony, have often given birth to ſcenes ſo tragical as ſcarcely to be believed among other nations; ſuch as men murdered by their wives, or women ſlaughtered by their huſbands, to revenge national quarrels between their different tribes.

Their children, however numerous, are no incumbrance to the parent, for, as ſoon as able, they are all put to work; they keep the flocks, carry wood, aſſiſt in tilling the ground, and gathering the harveſt. In the evening, when they return from their day's labour, all the children of the Douhar aſſemble in a common tent, where the Iman, who himſelf can ſcarcely ſpell, teaches them to read ſome leſſons in the Koran, tranſcibed on boards, and inſtructs them in their religion by the light of a fire made of ſtraw, under-wood, and cow-dung, dried in the ſun. The heat is moſt felt in the inland parts of the country, and there children, of both ſexes, often run naked till they are nine or ten years old.

There are no inns or aſylums for travellers, except in theſe Douhars, which are ſcattered over the country, and always near ſome rivulet or well. There is a tent for the reception of thoſe travellers who do not carry any with them. Here they find poultry, milk, eggs, and forage for their horſes. Inſtead of wood, they commonly burn ſun-dried cow dung, which, mingled with charcoal that muſt be brought with them, makes a very ardent fire. The abundance of ſalts found in hot countries give this cow dung a body, which it has not in northern climates*. There is a guard placed round the tents of travellers to prevent accidents, eſpecially when they happen to be Europeans, becauſe that the opinion the Moors have of their riches might tempt their avidity, they being naturally thieviſh.

Their laws, for the preſervation of travellers on the road, are well adapted to the

* That of the month of May is preſerved in ſome places, which, on unprejudiced examination, will be found to be a decoction of herbs and flowers, when moſt in ſeaſon; and an extract of this is given to ſick people as a kind of tea.

cha-

character of the Moors, and their mode of living. The Douhar is reſponſible for all thefts committed in its neighbourhood, or in ſight of its encampment; they are not only obliged to pay the loſs, but the Emperor takes occaſion to exact from them contributions proportioned to their riches *. To ſoften the rigour of the law, the Douhars are accountable only for thefts committed by day, and not for thoſe which happen after ſun-ſet, they being not able to ſee or prevent them. Travellers therefore only begin their journies at ſun-riſe, and neceſſarily reſt before twilight †.

To facilitate barter, there is a public market held every day throughout the

* Hiſtory informs us, that among the Egyptians, when any perſon was found murdered, drowned, or dead, by any accident whatever, the neareſt city was obliged to embalm the dead, and furniſh a magnificent funeral. This law, characteriſtic of the religion of the Egyptians, and their care of the dead, might alſo have a political retroſpect to the ſafety of travellers.

† This appears to be a wholeſome law in any country, and is not confined to ignorant or barbarous nations, ſince it is a well-known law of England. T.

country, Friday excepted, which is the day of prayer, in various quarters of each province. Here the neighbouring Moors aſſemble to buy and ſell cattle, corn, vegetables, dried fruits, carpets, haicks, and all the productions of their country. This market, called Soc in Arabic, reſembles the village fairs of France; the motion of the people going and coming to market give a juſter idea of the manner in which the Moors live than any to be found in their towns. The Alcaids, who command in the neighbourhood, always repair to the markets with ſoldiers to keep the peace, it being common enough at ſuch places to ſee thoſe ſeeds of rancour, which different tribes preſerve againſt each other, burſt forth. The breaking up of the Soc, as it is called in Arabic, when theſe quarrels happen, gives diſquietude to the government, becauſe it always betokens ſeditious tumults. On the outſide of the market there are uſually ſhews, buffoons, ſingers, dancers, and merry Andrews, who make monkies dance for the amuſement of gapers. On one ſide is the place of the barbers, or ſurgeons, to whom they bring their

their ſick to be cured of ſtrains, diſlocations, or other accidents. I have often, while travelling, been amuſed by theſe ſights, and have ſeen men and young women, who have been troubled with ſwellings, head aches, or other humours, ariſing from undue circulation, ſubmit to ſlight, regular ſcarifications, the men on the head, and the women round it, very near the hair, or ſometimes on the ſhoulders, arms, or legs. Their regularity prevents ſuch ſcars disfiguring the ſkin, though they do not ſoon diſappear. This treatment would be incompatible with the cuſtoms and education of Europe, where health is often ſacrificed to eaſe and beauty. Without giving a decided preference to this or that cuſtom, it ſeems rational that rheumatic pains in the ſhoulders, or other parts, might be more radically cured by ſuch light inciſions than by perſpiration, or means which may extend the humours, or incloſe them inſtead of cure. This is mere ſuppoſition, which will be pardoned me, as I do not pretend to be ſufficiently inſtructed in phyſic to ſpeak with any certainty.

The Moors of the country have no knowledge of the cuſtoms of other nations: at ſight of them we imagine we ſee men as they were before, and immediately after, the flood. Confined to a rural life, they are occupied concerning their grounds and harveſts, and paſs the remainder of their time in reſt. Habituated to fatigue, there are many of them who ſerve as couriers, and who, notwithſtanding their avarice, are tolerably faithful and exact.

It is difficult to conceive the ignorance of theſe country Moors. I have ſeen one waiting for his diſpatches in a room where there was a glaſs, and, his eye being caught by his own reflected figure, he imagined it was another courier waiting for diſpatches in another apartment. Having aſked to what place that courier was going, and being told to Mogodor, O then, ſaid he, we will travel together. He made the propoſition to his ſuppoſed comrade, who, like him, geſticulated in the glaſs, but gave no anſwer: he began to be angry till he ſaw another perſon reflected by the ſame glaſs enter the room. Aſtoniſhed at his error,

ror, he could ſcarcely be perſuaded, in ſpite of ſeeing and feeling, that it was poſſible to ſee one's ſelf, ſaid he, through a ſtone *.

In a houſe where I lodged, at Saffi, came two mountaineers, whoſe curioſity led them to examine Europeans in their own apartments. After having gone over the whole houſe, they knew not how to deſcend the ſtairs they had come up, which, to be ſure, were rather ſteep. At laſt they ſat themſelves down on the firſt ſtep, and then, ſupporting themſelves by their hands and feet, ſhuffled from one to the other. It is not, however, aſtoniſhing that a mountaineer, though accuſtomed to aſcend high and rugged rocks, ſhould find it difficult to go up or down ſtairs, when we conſider that their regularily and exact meaſurement require a kind of habitude, or that he is as much embarraſſed, on ſuch an occaſion, as we ſhould be at running, with agility equal to his, up and down mountains.

* The Moors have no words to expreſs mirrors, or glaſs windows, becauſe they have not the things.

Not

Not one among theſe people are at firſt ſuſceptible of receiving ideas from paintings or drawings; they only perceive a confuſion of colours in a picture without their order or deſign, and in engravings a mixture of lines: application only can make them ſenſible of what they mean. In this they reſemble a blind man reſtored to ſight, who ſhould be ſhewn a picture immediately after the operation of the cataract*.

* The truth of this obſervation is ſufficiently proved by the ſlowneſs with which children comprehend the pictures in their books. T.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Manners of the Inhabitants of the Cities.

THE Moors of the cities differ but little from thoſe who live under tents, being of the ſame origin, except that they have ſomewhat more urbanity, and that their appearance beſpeaks them more wealthy. The citizens, however, are vain of being thought to have no relation to the country Moors; but the revolutions and convulſions, which the empire has undergone, overthrow all ſuch opinions, and will not admit us to ſuppoſe any diſtinction between the Moors of the country and thoſe of the cities. The aſſertion of ſome writers, who call the inhabitants of the cities Arabs and thoſe of the country Moors, appears to me totally ill founded: the former may indeed have given credit to this opinion; but it is the more ridiculous becauſe they themſelves call the Moors of the country Alarbes, which is but

but a corruption of the word Arabs. The Brebes and the Shellu, or Chellu, of all the inhabitants of Mauritania, ſeem to me to be the only ones who have not mingled; but, among the inhabitants of the cities and plains, an Arab can no more be diſtinguiſhed from a Moor than a Frank could from a Roman, or a Gaul from a Goth, poſterior to that influx of different nations who expelled and ſucceeded each other after the fall of the Roman empire.

The only probable conjecture, which could juſtify ſuch an aſſertion, is that of thoſe who believe the Arabs inhabit the cities becauſe that conquerors have the right or the liberty to chuſe. Moſt of the cities of the empire are more ancient than the invaſions of the Arabs, who themſelves were accuſtomed to live in tents; and it even ſeems apparent that the firſt cities were built by the colonies of the Carthaginians, and that the cuſtom of living in and increaſing them did not, till long time after, become general, in proportion as the Moors had a greater intercourſe with the Mahometans of Spain, and more parti-

particularly after the expulſion of the latter. It may be, that, having enjoyed more luxury and wealth, the Mahometans of Spain might prefer to live in the cities, in which are ſtill found various families who vaunt of being deſcendants of the Mahometans of Andaluſia, and who ſtill preſerve the family names: ſuch as Bargas, Perez *, Medina, Moreno, Marino, Toledano, Probe, Marſil, Escalant, Aragon, Lovarez, Valenciano, Meudon, Santiago-Barciano, and others. Some even have preſerved their titles of their eſtates at Grenada, Cordova, Seville, &c. and perhaps alſo the very key of their houſe. I do not think that the difference, which is diſcernible between the Moors of the city and thoſe of the country, can have a much

* Voltaire, in his eſſay on the Manners of Nations, Chap. CLXII. has ſuppoſed that Perez, who was Admiral under Muley Iſhmael, was a Spaniſh renegado: but Perez was a family name among the Moors of Andaluſia. It ought to be remarked that the Spaniſh names, which the Moors and Jews who came from Spain have preſerved, are not always family names, but the names of patrons, or of adoption, which indicate the ſtate of dependence in which theſe Moors or Jews were to the houſe whoſe name they bear.

earlier

earlier date; nor will this any way change or affect their origin, but will confirm my ſuppoſitions; for whoever reads the revolution of the Mahometans of Spain, will find that theſe ſame Mahometans were alſo a mixture of Arab-Moors, whom it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh.

The houſes of the Moors have in general few conveniences, their wants not having been multiplied by whim. Theſe houſes ſeldom have more than one ſtory, moſt of them are ſquare, have a court in the centre that is often ornamented with pillars; which court gives light and entrance to four principal chambers that form the four faces of the ſquare. They have no windows, nor is the light ever admitted from the ſtreet. Each chamber has a large pair of folding doors, in one of which is a kind of wicket; and theſe doors alſo ſerve to admit light into the apartments. The houſes are ſeldom more than ſixteen feet high, are in no danger from the wind, and are tolerably cool in ſummer.

The furniture of the Moors is ſufficient for

for uſe; they are unacquainted with tapeſtry, and their moveables chiefly conſiſt in mats, carpets, ſome chairs, a cheſt, a table, and a bed, which runs lengthways the depth of the chamber, and is concealed by a curtain. The houſes have all terraces on the roof, which are formed of earth and mortar, about fifteen inches thick.

The inhabitants of the cities, from œconomy and deſire of concord, have only one wife, and very rarely increaſe the number. They have female negroes, whom they may take as concubines; but their averſion for their colour, which the white people have every where conſigned to oppreſſion, keep them chaſte, as they do not wiſh to have mulatto children. It muſt be owned that the Moors of the cities, commonly enough, have intercourſe of gallantry with the wives of the Jews, who, in general, are handſome; and their huſbands, enjoying by this means a more immediate protection, are complaiſant in proportion to the danger and precariouſneſs of their ſituation.

The

The Moors have little variety in their dreſs; the rigour of government is contrary to the caprices of faſhion, and depreſſes every ſpecies of luxury. Unable to preſerve their riches, except by concealing them, they are very careful not to bear any appearance of wealth which may awaken the avidity of government. "Thou muſt needs be very rich," ſaid a Sharif to a Moor, who, to preſerve his garden walls, had them whitewaſhed.

We have already ſeen what is the dreſs of the Moors who live in tents; the wardrobe of the inhabitants of cities is but little different; they, like the former, have a haick, and a hood more or leſs fine, and have alſo a hood of coarſe European cloth, of dark blue, for the winter. What farther diſtinguiſhes them from the country Moors is that they wear a ſhirt and linen drawers, and an upper garment of cotton, in ſummer, and of cloth in winter, which they call a caftan. The white or blue hood, the purpoſe of which ſeems to be to guard againſt bad weather, and which is called Bernus, is likewiſe a ceremonial

part of dreſs; without which, together with ſabre and ganger *, or caujer, worn in a bandelier, perſons of condition never appear before the Emperor.

The nature of the government conſidered, it ſhould ſeem probable that ſubjects preſent themſelves before their monarch in a dreſs like this, which is that of a man prepared to travel, only becauſe they muſt be always ready to receive and execute their maſter's orders. Some of the inhabitants of the capital cities, and of thoſe who are more immediately about the perſon of the Emperor, wear over their dreſs a cambric ſhirt, like thoſe which the French ladies have lately among the everlaſting changes of faſhion adopted, tied round their bodies with a ſaſh; they alſo put up the hood of their haick.

Obliged as they are to conceal their riches, the Moors wear no jewels; very

* The ganger is a dagger, ſometimes ſtraight, and ſometimes bent, about a foot in length, and two inches wide.

few have ſo much as a ring, a watch, or a ſilver ſnuff-box. Snuff has not, indeed, been introduced into Morocco till within ſome fifteen or twenty years. They frequently carry a roſary in their hand, but without annexing any ideas of devotion to the practice, although they uſe it to recite the name of God a certain number of times in the day. After theſe momentary prayers they play with their roſary, much the ſame as the European ladies do with their fans *. The Europeans received the uſe of the roſary from the people of Aſia, or perhaps, from the Arabs. As few of theſe were ſufficiently learned to read the Koran, they ſupplied this defect by pronouncing the Creator's name a certain number of times in the day. A ſimilar motive, probably, firſt made it adopted in the prayers of Catholics.

* The Oriental Mahometans have the ſame cuſtom, except that they ſeek for a degree of elegance and faſhion unknown to the Moors.

CHAP. X.

Dreſs and Manners of the Women of the Cities in Morocco.

THE Mooriſh women ſeldom leave the houſe, and always veiled. The old very carefully hide their faces, but the young and handſome are ſomewhat more indulgent; that is to ſay, toward foreigners, for they are exceedingly cautious with the Moors. Being veiled, their huſbands do not know them in the ſtreet, and it is even impolite to endeavour to ſee the faces of the women who paſs, ſo different are the manners and cuſtoms of nations.

There are very fine women found among the Moors, eſpecially up the country; thoſe of the northern parts by no means poſſeſs the ſame degree of grace and beauty: it would be difficult to give any phyſical reaſon for this difference: tranſmigrations

have continually happened among the different tribes of the empire, of whoſe deſcent and origin we are ignorant. Theſe tribes marry only with thoſe of their own tribe, by which they are preſerved without intermixture.

As females in warm countries ſooner arrive at puberty, they are alſo ſooner old; and this, perhaps, may be the reaſon why polygamy has been generally adopted in ſuch climates. Women there ſooner loſe the charms of youth, while men ſtill preſerve their paſſions, and the powers of nature.

The Mooriſh women are not in general very reſerved. Climate has a vaſt influence on the temperament of the body; and licentiouſneſs is there more general and leſs reſtrained, though, as in other places, its diſorderly pleaſures incur its attendant pains; not but that the diſeaſe attending illicit amours is leſs poiſonous, and ſlower in its operations, among the Moors, than in Europe, becauſe of the heat of the climate,

mate, and the great temperance of their mode of living.

The women of the ſouth are in general the handſomeſt, and are ſaid to be ſo reſerved, or ſo guarded, that their very relations do not enter their houſes, nor their tents. Yet, ſuch is the contradictory cuſtom of nations, that, there are tribes, in theſe ſame provinces, among whom it is held to be an act of hoſpitality to preſent a woman to a traveller. It may be, there are women who dedicate themſelves to this ſpecies of devotion as to an act of benevolence, for it is impoſſible to deſcribe all the varieties of opinion among men, or the whims to which the human fancy is ſubject.

The Mooriſh women who live in cities are, as in other nations, more addicted to ſhew and finery in dreſs than thoſe of the country; but, as they generally leave the houſe only one day in the week, they ſeldom dreſs themſelves. Not allowed to receive male viſitors, they remain in their houſes employed in their families, and ſo totally in diſhabille that they often wear

only a ſhift, and another coarſer ſhift over the firſt, tied round their waiſt, with their hair plaited, and ſometimes with, though often without, a cap.

When dreſſed they wear an ample and fine linen ſhift, the boſom embroidered in gold; a rich caftan of cloth, ſtuff, or velvet, worked in gold; and one or two folds of gauze, ſtreaked with gold and ſilk, round the head, and tied behind ſo as that the fringes, intermingled with their treſſes, deſcend as low as the waiſt; to which ſome add a ribband of about two inches broad, worked in gold or pearls, that encircles the forehead in form of a diadem. Their caftan is bound round their waiſt by a crimſon velvet girdle, embroidered in gold with a buckle of gold or ſilver, or elſe a girdle of tamboured ſtuff, manufactured at Fez.

The women have yellow ſlippers, and a cuſtom of wearing a kind of ſtocking of fine cloth ſomewhat large, which is tied below the knee and at the ancle, over which it falls in folds. This ſtocking is

leſs

leſs calculated to ſhew what we call a handſome leg, than to make it appear thick; for to be fat is one of the rules of beauty among the Mooriſh women. To obtain this quality, they take infinite pains, feed when they become nubile on a diet ſomewhat like forced-meat balls, a certain quantity of which is given them daily; and, in fine, the ſame care is taken among the Moors to fatten young women, as is in Europe to fatten fowls. The reaſon of a cuſtom like this may be found in the nature of the climate, and the quality of the aliments, which make the people naturally meager. Our ſlender waiſts and fine-turned ancles would be imperfections in this part of Africa, and, perhaps, over all that quarter of the globe; ſo great is the contraſt of taſte, and ſo various the prejudices of nations.

The Moors preſent their wives with jewels of gold, ſilver, or pearl, but very few wear precious ſtones; this is a luxury, of which they have little knowledge. They have rings in ſilver or gold, alſo ear-rings in the form of a creſcent, five inches

in circumference, and as thick as the end of the little finger. They firſt pierce their ears, and introduce a ſmall roll of paper, which they daily increaſe in thickneſs, till at length they inſert the kernel of the date, which is equal in ſize to the ear-ring.

They wear braceſets in gold and ſolid ſilver, and ſilver rings at the bottom of their legs, ſome of which I have ſeen conſiderably heavy. There are youths among the Sharifs, or nobility, who wear at one ear a gold or ſilver ring from four to five inches in circumference; but this cuſtom is more general among the black ſlaves belonging to people of ſome diſtinction.

All theſe trinkets, which the women are exceedingly deſirous to obtain, were originally ſigns of ſlavery, which men, to render its yoke more ſufferable, have thus inſenſibly changed to ornaments. Europe received ſuch tokens of dependence from Aſia, embelliſhed them with all the riches of nature, and the decorations of art, till at length ear-rings and bracelets, firſt worn as badges

badges of ſervitude, are now become the paraphernalia of the empire of beauty.

The uſe of white paint is unknown among the Mooriſh women, and that of red but little. It is much more common to ſee them dye their eyebrows and eyelaſhes; which dye does not add to the beauty of the countenance, but conſiderably to the fire of the eyes. They trace regular figures with henna, of a ſaffron colour, on their feet, the palm of the hand, and the tip of their fingers.

On their viſiting day they wrap themſelves in a clean fine haick, which comes over the head, and ſurrounds the face ſo as to let them ſee without being ſeen. When they travel they wear ſtraw hats to keep off the ſun, and in ſome parts of the empire the women wear hats on their viſits, which is a faſhion peculiar to the tribes coming from the ſouth, who have preſerved their cuſtoms, for the Moors do not change modes they have once adopted*.

* The hat is common to men and women among the Moors who travel, and the cuſtom of wearing it came from Africa

They are in no wiſe ſuſceptible of that continual change of faſhion ſo ſtudied and ſo rapid in Europe, and which, particularly in France, is become ſo vaſt an object, more burdenſome, perhaps, than uſeful, of induſtry and intercourſe.

Africa to Europe. The Spaniards, becauſe of the heat of their climate, ſtill, as much as they can, wear it flapped, and have called it Sombrero, or ſhady. The French gave it the name of Chappeau, becauſe it ſupplied the uſe of the cape or hood of their ancient dreſs, which they called chapel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Renegadoes and Jews.

AMONG the Moors and Jews, who together people the empire of Morocco, there is an intermediate claſs of men who, ſomewhat like amphibious animals, ſeem to appertain to two elements. I ſpeak of renegadoes, who have renounced Chriſtianity to embrace Mahometaniſm. Among theſe there are a great number who were originally Jews: the Moors hold them not in the leaſt reſpect, and the Jews in ſtill leſs, had they power freely to make their averſion known.

Theſe apoſtates intermarry only among each other; and, as in Spain, an old Chriſtian carefully avoids beſtowing his daughter on one newly converted, ſo does a Moor of ancient race imagine his family diſgraced,

graced, ſhould a renegado become the huſband of his daughter. The families of apoſtate Jews are exceedingly numerous, and are called Toornadis *. Not having at any time married with the Moors, they ſtill preſerve their ancient characteriſtics, and are known almoſt at ſight to be the progeny of thoſe who formerly embraced the Mahometan religion.

The Chriſtian renegadoes are but few, and generally are fugitive peculators of Spain, or men fallen from power, who, becauſe of their miſconduct, or in deſpair, quit one unfortunate ſituation for another, much more deplorable. Not one among them but repents of having become a Moor, or who does not wiſh to eſcape; but this is difficult.

To conclude the accouut I have given of the inhabitants of Morocco, I muſt

* From the Spaniſh word Tornadizo, which ſignifies one who has changed his religion.

COVARRUBIAS. *Teſoro de la Lengua Caſtillana.*

now

now ſpeak of the Jews, who are very populous in the empire. After being proſcribed in Spain and Portugal, multitudes of them paſſed over to Morocco, and ſpread themſelves through the towns and over the country. Judging by the relations they themſelves give, and by the extent of the places aſſigned them to dwell in, I have no doubt but there were more than thirty thouſand families, of whom at preſent there is ſcarcely a reſidue of one twelfth; the remainder either have changed their religion, ſunk under their ſufferings, or fled from the vexations they endured, and the arbitrary taxes and tolls impoſed upon them.

The Jews poſſeſs neither lands nor gardens, nor can they enjoy their fruits in tranquillity; they muſt wear only black, and are obliged, when they paſs near moſques, or through ſtreets in which there are ſanctuaries, to walk barefoot.

The loweſt among the Moors imagines he has a right to illtreat a Jew, nor dares the latter defend himſelf, becauſe the Koran

ran and the Judge are always in favour of the Mahometan. Notwithſtanding this ſtate of oppreſſion, the Jews have many advantages over the Moors; they better underſtand the ſpirit of trade, they act as agents and brokers, and profit by their own cunning, and the ignorance of the Moors. In their commercial bargains many of them buy up the commodities of the country to ſell again. Some have European correſpondents, and others are mechanics; ſuch as goldſmiths, tailors, gunſmiths, millers, and maſons. More induſtrious, artful, and better informed than the Moors, the Jews are employed by the Emperor in receiving the cuſtoms, coining the money, and in all affairs and intercourſe which the Monarch has with the European merchants, as well as in all his negotiations with the various European governments.

Thus, though but momentarily employed in the adminiſtration of affairs, they, by their active intrigues, have the power of doing ſome good, and much miſchief; and, ſuch is their cunning, they generally

nerally take care to gain both by the one and the other. Hence, though the Jews are oppreſſed, they find reſources in their induſtry, and means of conſoling themſelves for all their indignities.

The wives of the Jews in Morocco are in general well formed, handſome, have good complexions, and exceedingly fine eyes. They are addicted to dreſs, and their propenſity to gallantry is the greater inaſmuch as the huſbands of the commonality are ſomewhat more than indulgent. We muſt not, however, conclude there are not many Jewiſh families, whoſe manners are good and exemplary.

As the Jews throughout the empire live diſtinct and ſeparate from the Moors, they enjoy their religious rites with conſiderable liberty. Thoſe of Morocco ſeem even to have multiplied their ſuperſtitions by their intercourſe with foreign nations, after the deſtruction of the Jewiſh empire. Their Rabbins find a remedy for all evils in prayer, and promote, inſtead of deſtroying, error. Enjoying thoſe eccleſiaſtical immunities

nities which are granted them by the law, theſe doctors live exempt from the national impoſitions paid by the community; and this exemption increaſing, the number of the Rabbins increaſes, and renders more heavy the load of taxation laid on the laborious, who want ſufficient capital to trade; while the Rabbins, fattening upon the public miſery, employ themſelves in affairs of commerce and gain.

The Jews in the empire of Morocco ſpeak Arabic, and all know the Hebrew, becauſe of the affinity between theſe two languages, the one of which is derived from the other. Every where elſe Hebrew is the learned language among the Jews, of which the common people are ignorant, and which is ſtudied only by the Rabbins. The Rabbins, in ſome parts of Morocco, without underſtanding the Spaniſh language, have preſerved the habit of tranſlating into that language by reading the Hebrew Bible in Spaniſh, to which they alſo accuſtom their ſcholars. However extraordinary ſuch efforts, it is ridiculous

diculous to fatigue the memory of children with ſtudies which can be of no utility *.

The Jews, who, amid all their perſecutions and emigrations, have introduced their religious rites and ceremonies into all countries, obſerve more ſcrupulouſly in Morocco than in any other kingdom thoſe which were anciently performed at the death of their kinſmen. The departure of life is announced by them with ſhrieks and lamentations, in which hired women join, and who ſing in a kind of meaſure, or rhythmus, at the end of which they clap their hands; thus, in cadence, marking the gradations of their grief. The kinſwomen of the deceaſed tear their hair, beat themſelves, and join in this lamentable concert, which is again repeated on the day of interment. The Jews then obſerve ſix days of ſevere mourning, during which they go barefoot,

* This paſſage is almoſt unintelligible, and certainly can only mean a Spaniſh tranſlation of the Bible is read at the ſame time with the Hebrew, and that they are both compared, perhaps tranſcribed. T.

and muſt neither ſhave themſelves, nor change their clothes. On the ſeventh day their former muſical ſhrieks are repeated, as they likewiſe are on the firſt of the eleventh month, which is the laſt of mourning. The women-weepers, at theſe funeral ceremonies, ſing moral ſentences concerning life and death; and, when they happen to be capable of ſinging extempore, they rhyme and chaunt the praiſes of the deceaſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Animals found in the Empire of Morocco.

THE domeſtic animals found in Morocco are of the ſame ſpecies as thoſe that are native in Europe. The ferocious are peculiar to theſe climes. I ſhall ſpeak of the former firſt.

The Moors are a paſtoral people, and their wealth conſiſts in their flocks and herds. Theſe are numerous throughout the empire, and would be much more ſo were property reſpected, and might commerce be enjoyed in freedom. The quality of the wool on this coaſt is generally good, and would even be ſuſceptible of much perfection, were they more careful of their breed of ſheep, and in their choice of paſturage. The Moors employ a part of their fleeces in their own clothing and

carpets, and ſell the reſidue to foreign nations. There are few black ſheep found in the empire of Morocco. It is, perhaps, for this reaſon that the clothing of the Moors is generally white; and, for the contrary reaſon, we ſee in Spain whole diſtricts in the country, the people of which are clothed in grey and dark colours, becauſe that their ſheep are more variegated, and that black ſheep there are very numerous.

Oxen are tolerably plentiful in this part of Africa, but the breed is ſmall. The Engliſh, notwithſtanding the ſhackles which the Emperor in his policy thinks proper to lay on the exportation of oxen, continually obtain ſufficient for the maintenance of their garriſon at Gibraltar. The Moors ſalt their beef for their home conſumption, and thus preſerve it from year to year. Their raw hides form an object of conſiderable importance in their commerce, and are ſent in prodigious quantities to Marſeilles.

The

The camel is a part of the wealth of the Moors. It is an animal that requires little, and labours much. The Moors uſe them as well as oxen in agriculture, but more commonly for the carriage of their products, and other commercial objects, throughout the empire. The camel is a docile animal, which is taught to kneel down that he may be loaded with the greater facility; he is able to carry from ſix to eight hundred weight, according as he is more or leſs ſtrong: the country Moors alſo uſe him to travel journies; his ſtep is long and heavy, and his trot inſupportable to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to it; and he often carries a whole family, with all its luggage. The Caliph Omar uſed to travel upon a camel, taking with him his proviſions.

Naturaliſts no longer hold the erroneous opinion that the camel places himſelf back to back with his female to engender. That animal, tranquil by nature, is reſtleſs when in heat; and, after having tormented the female, to oblige her to crouch upon her knees, he himſelf does the ſame,

while, with his frothy tongue, he makes a very diſagreeable humming. The conformation of the part of generation is ſuch, that, ſtrangely diſproportioned, it forms a kind of angle, which ſeems to project and act by elaſtic motions.

The Moors of the country eat camel's fleſh with a good appetite. The taſte of this meat is inſipid, and the broth it makes has a white tincture, unpleaſing to the eye. Camel's milk is wholeſome, cool, and light; it is in common uſage in the ſouth; and the ſick, whoſe lungs are any way diſeaſed, drink it medicinally.

This animal is of the utmoſt utility in hot climates and ſandy countries. The ſole of his foot is cartilaginous, and becomes callous, but cannot long endure in thoſe countries that are humid and ſtony. The conformation of his ſtomach is ſuch that he can remain ſeveral days without eating or drinking. Before he begins his journey, his keeper gives him an abundant portion of barley, and, as he chews the cud, he ruminates on this food as he travels,

vels, which lies in his ſtomach as a depoſit, to which he has recourſe when wanted. Water is in like manner preſerved in a receptacle, which nature has prepared, of various bladders, and which is rejected or re-ſwallowed in proportion as he becomes thirſty.

Horſes abound in the empire of Morocco, and are, in general, good; they are taught to endure fatigue, heat, cold, hunger, and thirſt. Beautiful horſes are, notwithſtanding, uncommon here; the Moors have not taken the ſame care as the Arabs have done to preſerve and improve their breed. The Emperor has ſtuds in va- various provinces, and ſome governors alſo, who are very deſirous of pleaſing him, have the ſame; but this kind of induſtry is not generally encouraged; the exportation of horſes is prohibited, and the Emperor claims a right of ſelecting the beſt of every thing in kind, which naturally produces negligence in the inhabitants, ſince their cares could anſwer no purpoſes but thoſe of oppreſſion. The horſes in this part of Africa are broken

while very young, and treated with much roughneſs. They teach them to gallop full ſpeed, and inſtantly to ſtop ſhort, by which they ſoon are ſhook in the ſhoulders and lamed, and, when ſeven years old, are in general no longer fit for uſe.

In the ſouthern parts, where the Moors enjoy ſome ſmall degree of ſuperior freedom, becauſe they are not inſpected with equal attention, they are more careful in improving their breed of horſes, which are therefore finer in thoſe countries. The Moors of theſe provinces ſeldom ride any but mares; they are ſwifter, do not neigh*,

* Either the mares of Africa are very different from thoſe of Europe, which latter neigh as frequently as horſes, or this is a very ſtrange error, into which ſeveral French writers have fallen. A late very intelligent traveller, M. Volney, ſpeaking of the Bedouin Arabs, ſays, that the Arab mare is preferable to the horſe, becauſe, among other good qualities which he enumerates, ſhe does not neigh *. Yet neither M. Volney, nor the author of the preſent work, M. Chénier, make any diſtinction between the mares of Europe and Africa; and it is highly probable they have both taken this opinion upon truſt. T.

* Vide *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, par M. C. F. Volney, Tom. I. p. 372.

and are better adapted for ſudden attacks among people who are always in agitation becauſe of their diviſions. The mares and their colts are accuſtomed to enter the tents at night; they lie down among the children, and, when they turn, are very careful not to hurt them. This familiar kind of education makes theſe animals contract a vaſt affection for their maſters, by whom they are highly pleaſed to be careſſed.

Mules too are much in uſe among the Moors, who, under the preſent reign, have applied themſelves induſtriouſly to encourage their breed, the exportation of them having been for ſome time permitted *. Theſe animals are in daily uſe to perform journies and carry burdens; they are ſtronger than horſes, do not require the ſame care nor quantity of food, and are more hardy. The Mooriſh cavalry are all mounted on horſes, but private individuals

* Between the years 1765 and 1775 the Engliſh continually purchaſed and tranſported them to America; but an augmentation of the duties to be paid, and the revolution in America, has interrupted this trade.

ride

ride mules in preference; they are very careful in chuſing good ones, and accuſtom them to an amble, which does not fatigue, and which rids much ground. Thoſe of Fez are the fineſt, and go the beſt: many of them likewiſe come from the neighbourhood of Tunis.

Poultry is abundant in the empire of Morocco, but it is of a very indifferent kind. The pigeons are excellent, and ſome of them very large. Partridges are plentiful, but their fleſh has very little taſte. Woodcocks are exceedingly ſcarce; but, in return, ſnipes are numerous in the ſeaſon: hares here are generally good, and of the middle ſize: rabbits are not found, except in the northern part of the empire from Laracha to Tetuan.

The empire of Morocco contains fallow deer, the roebuck, the antelope, with foxes, and numbers of animals, known in Europe; but theſe are not in general often ſeen, becauſe they are hunted, or elſe that wild beaſts deſtroy the breed imperceptibly. Lions and tigers are not uncommon

in

in ſome parts of the empire; they haunt the foreſts or vallies in the neighbourhood of rivers. Theſe animals do not often depart far from their lairs, unleſs greatly provoked by hunger; but they always find prey in the deſtruction of young boars, which breed in theſe foreſts, or in carrying off the cows and ſheep which come to graze in the neighbourhood of their haunts. What are called tigers in this part of Africa are only leopards; the royal tiger is there unknown.

The Moors, and more eſpecially thoſe who inhabit the mountains, willingly go in chace of lions and tigers, lying in watch for them with their guns in the neighbourhood of their watering places. The better to ſecure themſelves, they climb trees to ſhoot them as they paſs, taking care to provide themſelves with hatchets to attack the tiger, which runs up trees with facility. I have known a Moor, of no extraordinary ſtrength, who had himſelf killed one-and-twenty lions.

When

When the Moors wiſh to take the lions alive, they dig deep ditches, where they put meat, having covered the ditch with leaves, ſcattered over reeds. The lion, attracted by the bait, falls into the ditch, and is caught in ſnares, or nooſes. It is ſtill more common to take them in wooden traps, which cloſe upon them as the lions are ſtepping over. When the Moors are obliged to encamp, in places where lions make their appearance, they keep lighted fires to drive them off. It has often happened that theſe animals, approaching the encampments, have carried off mules from their paſture. On a certain occaſion one of the negroes of a Princeſs, who, to avoid working, had gone to a diſtance from the camp, and was ſleeping at his eaſe, was devoured by a lion.

The Moors of the country relate many tales in confirmation of what has been ſo often repeated concerning the generoſity of this animal. I have been aſſured that a Brebe, who went to hunt the lion, having proceeded far into a foreſt, happened to meet with two lions whelps that came to careſs him:

him: the hunter ſtopped with the little animals, and, waiting for the coming of the ſire, or the dam, took out his breakfaſt, and gave them a part. The lioneſs arrived unperceived by the huntſman, ſo that he had not time, or, perhaps, wanted the courage to take to his gun. After having for ſometime looked at the man that was thus feaſting her young, the lioneſs went away, and ſoon after returned, bearing with her a ſheep, which ſhe came and laid at the huntſman's feet.

The Brebe, thus become one of the family, took this occaſion of making a good meal, ſkinned the ſheep, made a fire, and roaſted a part, giving the entrails to the young. The lion, in his turn, came alſo, and, as if reſpecting the rights of hoſpitality, ſhewed no tokens whatever of ferocity. Their gueſt the next day, having finiſhed his proviſions, returned, and came to a reſolution never more to kill any of theſe animals, the noble generoſity of which he had ſo fully proved. He ſtroked and careſſed the whelps at taking leave of them, and the dam and the ſire accompa-

panied

panied him till he was ſafely out of the foreſt.

This animal, which the ancients have called the King of beaſts, does not attack men who do not run from him, but look on him without fear; at leaſt, not unleſs hard driven by hunger. It may be that the temperature of the climate, or the freedom in which they range, may occaſion theſe animals to be leſs ferocious in Africa than they are in Europe, where they are ſhut up in dens. The Moors ſay that, in ſome provinces, the very women and children will drive them, by only hallooing after them, away from their habitations.

The Emperor of Morocco keeps lions and tigers in open ditches, which are exceedingly deep and vaſt, as well for ſtate as to ſend them, by way of preſent, to the Sovereigns of Europe. The Jews, whoſe department it is to daily take them their food, aſcend and deſcend their ditches, without the leaſt apprehenſion, and govern animals ſo fierce and voracious with a ſwitch. I kept a young tiger ſome time at

my houſe, which had been given me by a governor of one of their provinces. He was put in a great cage, and the ſervants played with him familiarly, without ever receiving the leaſt injury.

The wild boar, of all the ſpecies of ferocious animals found in this empire, is the moſt common. The ſow has ſeveral litters in the year, and her young are numerous. They ſerve as food for the lion. Whenever the lion diſcovers in the foreſt the ſow and her litter of pigs, he drags himſelf, with his belly on the ground, and deſcribes a large circle, leaving only a ſmall opening, near which he lies in watch. The ſow, wiſhing to get away with her young, follows the circle which the lion has deſcribed, but does not paſs it, becauſe of the ſmell he has left behind, till coming, at length, to the only interval where ſhe does not find the ſame fetid odour, ſhe ruſhes precipitately forward, and the lion leaps and ſeizes on his prey.

There have been examples of boars that have ripped up lions with their tuſks; but

but theſe muſt be regarded as particular caſes and exceptions, and not as a rule that ſhall in any wiſe make the lion cede his ſuperiority to the boar.

The inhabitants of the country, and thoſe who live among the mountains, eat the fleſh of the boar without ſcruple, though it is forbidden food by the law, as well as that of the lion. The fleſh of the latter, which appeared to me coarſe grained and ſinewy, muſt be very tough. Its ſcent is ſo ſtrong that a dog, to which I once preſented ſome, the moment he had noſed it, ſhrunk back with fear.

BOOK II.

Religion — Government — Laws — State of Knowledge — Language — Character — Manners and Cuſtoms.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Empire of Morocco.

THE religion of the Moors is Mahometaniſm; obſerved with the greater rigidity, or probably increaſed in bigotry by ſuperſtitious practices, becauſe theſe people may have preſerved ceremonies of their ancient worſhip, or introduced ſuch as they may have received from other nations.

The Moors follow the tradition or ſect of the Iman Abdallah Melek, or Melu, who was one of the four commentators on

the Koran. They hold in equal reſpect the works of Abu-Abdallah-Mahomet-Ben-Iſhmael-El-Boccari, who collected and reduced into a ſyſtematic form the oral traditions of Mahomet.

Africa has produced more reformers and enthuſiaſts than the other countries where the Mahometan religion has been received. Hence it has happened among the Moors, that numerous ſuperſtitions have been added, which the ignorance and credulity of the people have confounded with their religion. Although the weſtern Mahometans and the Turks have the ſame worſhip, in its general acceptation, their practice of it is, in ſome reſpects, different. Excluſive of the moſque, in which the Moors offer up their prayers, they have chapels, or meetings, conſecrated to the devotion of individuals, who regularly meet every evening, and ſing either paſſages from the Koran, or prayers which they have compoſed. They alſo ſing when they bury the dead, and pay the moſt ſuperſtitious devotion to their ſaints. As the Turks have none of theſe ſeparate aſſemblies, which

which ſeem foreign to the ſpirit of Mahometaniſm, it may be preſumed that the Moors have adopted the frequenting of them from the Morabethoons, who, though no Derviſes, were more auſtere in the obſervation of their worſhip. It is poſſible, alſo, that they may have brought this practice out of Spain.

In all Mahometan ſtates a kind of Monks, or Derviſes, are found, who dedicate themſelves to religion by vows, and who, under the veil of pretended perfection and abſurd peculiarities, multiply and take advantage of the credulity of the uninformed. The Turks of Europe are not in general much addicted to monaſtic inſtitutions; yet the rich and great among them, out of policy and reſpect to the opinions of the multitude, admit theſe hypocrites in their houſes; but there are few of them in whom they place any confidence.

In proportion as we enter farther into Aſia, or the interior parts of Arabia, and in Egypt, where enthuſiaſm and the bi-

goted ſpirit of ſuperſtition ſeem to ferment with the heat, thoſe monkiſh kind of ſanctuaries, in which the pretended ſaints, called Santons, live, are ſeen more frequently, and held in greater veneration. Some of theſe Santons mortify themſelves by various means; but moſt of them are vagrants; the buffoneries of whom are, however, reſpected by the vulgar, and who there are held in the ſame veneration as here by the Moors of Morocco.

Saintſhip in this part of Africa is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and, perhaps, moſt lucrative profeſſions; it is a family inheritance, deſcending from father to ſon, and ſometimes from maſter to ſervant. A Saint as naturally affirms that he is a Saint as a tailor tells you he is a tailor; and the number of theſe ſelf-ſaid holy men is increaſed, becauſe that fools, madmen, and ideots, are acknowledged ſaints. With reſpect, however, to their pretended miracles, thoſe the fools never affect to perform. The houſe, the ſanctuary, and the land of a Saint of repute, for they are not all in equal credit, form an inviolable aſylum; and

and theſe aſylums, known to the earlieſt times, which originally were only places of refuge againſt tyranny and oppreſſion, have inſenſibly extended their privileges. The Deſpots of Morocco, ceding to their paſſions and arbitary power, have occaſionally violated them; but, intereſted as they are to maintain the prejudices of their people, they have almoſt always held them in reſpect *.

Theſe

* The following extract of a narrative, written by ſome French Miſſionaries, who, in the year 1723, were ſent to Morocco for the redemption of captives, affords a lively picture of the power, as well as avidity of theſe Saints:—" A criminal took refuge in the houſe of one of their Saints; the " Emperor commanded he ſhould be brought to juſtice, and " puniſhed for his crime: but no one durſt enter and ſeize " him, becauſe of the reſpect they had for the houſe of the " Saint to which he had fled: the Emperor was ſo angry " that he went himſelf, apparently with an intent to inflict " puniſhment with his own hands. The guardians of the " houſe of the Saint remonſtrated that the Imperial dignity " was not ſuperior to their law, which forbade the taking " of any criminal out of the houſe of a reputed Saint; but, " they farther repreſented, there was one means of making " him quit this houſe, which was to write a reſpectful " letter to the Saint, and with it ſend him a preſent, praying " that it might pleaſe him to expel the fugitive, and the " guardians would then drive him forth, ſo that he might be " ſeized. The Emperor thought proper to comply; the

Theſe Saints, whoſe ſanctuaries are infinitely numerous, do not all enjoy the ſame ſpecies of holy virtue; the Moors invoke ſome of them for the cure of their diſeaſes, others to obtain fertility for their lands, or ſucceſs in their undertakings. Women ſubject themſelves to a nine-day's abſtinence to obtain children, and theſe kind of Saints are the oftenest invoked, and perform the moſt miracles. Some of them pretend to have charms againſt wizards, ſorcerers, the poiſon of ſerpents, and other venomous inſects, with which they play. I have ſeen them eat ſcorpions.

There is a ſect in the ſouth called Ben-Haiſſa, deſcendants of Joſhua, who, in their wild fanatic devotion, run, leap, dance, and, extatic in this their intoxica-

" letter was written, in his name, to the Saint, and the pre-
" ſent ſent; but, as the Emperors and Baſhaws ſeldom think
" proper thus to condeſcend, or to bear this expence, crimes
" generally remain unpuniſhed." T.

Relation du voyage pour la redemption des Captifs. Par les peres Jean de la Faye, &c.

tion,

tion, which becomes furious, they fall foaming upon any animal they find. A tale is related concerning a troop of theſe madmen, who once tore an aſs in pieces with their teeth, and eat it up raw. The veneration of the people for ſuch crazy Saints is incredible; they careſs them, fondle over, coax them, and uſe every means to quiet them during theſe fits of phrenzy.

The moſt tranquil Saints, however, inſpire the greateſt devotion: there often come ſome to the cities, who make their public entry on horſeback, preceded by a flag, and followed by foot people, who run after and attend them in multitudes, all hoping to approach the Saint, who lays his hand upon the head of the Moor, and the latter, kiſſing his garments, imagines himſelf, after this ceremony, abſolved and purified from ſin,

It will eaſily be conſidered how much the rigours of a government, which al-

ways inſpire agitation and terror, contribute to the increaſe of ſuperſtition among the Moors; their intimidated minds habitually yield to every new fear: thus, they are ſeen performing journies of five or ſix days from their places of abode, and bearing offerings to invoke ſome Saint in faſhion, that they may merit, by his heavenly interceſſions, the favour of their Sovereign, his confidence, or ſome temporal proſperity. The Moors of the country never fail, after harveſt, to perform a viſit of pilgrimage to the Saint whom they have moſt in reverence, carrying him their firſt fruits in homage, and as a mark of gratitude.

Their prieſts, their judges, all the learned in the law, every well-informed perſon, together with their Sharifs, or nobles, are, among the Moors, held to be holy; their veneration extends even to the very Chriſtian prieſts, and more particularly to thoſe friars who wear the coarſe habits deſcribed by the Koran; ſuch as

were

were worn during the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm *.

Madmen, ideots, and dotards, are ſuppoſed by theſe people to be poſſeſſed by a divine ſpirit. Some, cunningly profiting by this fanatic prejudice, have acted the madman, that they might obtain an eaſy and good maintenance; but there are a number of poor imbecile people, whom the Moors kindly aſſiſt, and perform acts of charity in their behalf, highly to their honour.

Saintſhip thus being a trade among the Moors, the myſtery of the profeſſion conſiſts in the inventing of the means to take advantage of popular credulity. Among

* The Koran having been reviſed in the ſeventh century, under the caliphate of Omar, this Caliph recommended the friars, who were then at Jeruſalem, and whom he diſcribed by the coarſe garments in which they were clothed, to be held in veneration. Theſe have been ſuppoſed to be Franciſcan Friars, who have the keeping of the holy ſepulchre; but they were Greek Monks, without a doubt, whoſe habit the firſt Franciſcans imitated, the latter order not having been founded till the twelfth century.

the number of Saints whom I have known, for it is neceſſary, in ſome degree, to have friends of every claſs, there was one who was exceedingly ſenſible and judicious in private ſociety, but who in public affected every extravagance which the wildneſs of imagination could prompt; and the ſallies in which he indulged himſelf were regarded as inſpirations. He often would paſs whole days and nights in imitating the firing of cannon and the exploſion of bombs, which the Moors ſuppoſed to be preſages, ſometimes of good, ſometimes of ill; and the leaſt alteration in the ſeaſons, in the weather, or the common courſe of events, was held a full accompliſhment of theſe ridiculous predictions. This artful impoſtor who, notwithſtanding, poſſeſſed moral virtues, did ſome good; and the Moors of the country, who looked upon him as one inſpired, laid aſide a portion of their profits for him, and very ſcrupulouſly brought him their firſt fruits. Notwithſtanding I no way aided him in performing his miracles, he would ſometimes invite me to partake of his offerings; and I have often

often rallied him on the cunning and prudence with which he played the fool.

There would be no end to this narrative, were I to recount all the tricks of a number of impoſtors, whom the Moors venerate, ſuppoſing them to be holy. There certainly are ſome among them, who are well-meaning people, that inſpire confidence, and are themſelves ſerious in their profeſſions; but much the greateſt part merit exemplary puniſhment for the abuſes they commit on ignorant credulity. There was one at Tetuan who, having in open day met women coming from the bath, after acting ſome convulſive diſtortions, ſeized on one of the moſt youthful, and had commerce with her in the midſt of the ſtreet. Her companions, who ſurrounded her, uttered exclamations of joy, felicitated her on her good fortune, and the huſband himſelf received complimentary viſits on this occaſion; ſuch is the contrariety, ſuch the caprice of opinion, and ſuch the power of imagination over man.

Not far from Saffi, on the high road, is the ſanctuary of a female Saint, who, during her life, had devoted herſelf to the ſervice of paſſengers; and this proſtitution is the only claim to that veneration in which her memory is preſerved. Thus do qualities, moſt ſingularly oppoſite, and which every where influence the mind, ſometimes conſecrate crimes, making them holy and religious acts, and building temples even to debauchery.

The ſanctuaries of the Saints throughout the empire are very numerous; there are ſome to which vaſt poſſeſſions are annexed, and whoſe aſylum is inviolable by the antiquity of their titles *. Within theſe lands they ſcarcely acknowledge the authority of the Emperor; the Saint only to whom the aſylum is conſecrated, is reſpected. To the ſouthward, where men's imaginations are moſt diſpoſed to enthuſiaſm,

* This reſpect for Sanctuaries is deſcened from the moſt ancient times. Alaric, at the ſacking of Rome, enjoined his ſoldiers to ſpare the blood of thoſe who ſhould have taken refuge in any ſanctuary.

theſe ſanctuaries are ſtill more multiplied, the Saints are held in ſtill greater veneration, and their religion is ſuch that they will not permit Chriſtians or Jews to approach theſe holy places.

So great was the aſcendancy of this kind of devotion that it was cuſtomary, in times of civil commotion, to travel under the ſafeguard of a Saint, and the traveller was then protected from all inſult. The ſame kind of prejudice is the cauſe that a Saint is generally found travelling with the cafiles, or caravans, where he is conſidered as a preſervative againſt all unfortunate accidents; and he may travel from one part of the empire to the other without being at any expence.

The habitations of the Saints are always beſide the ſanctuary, or tomb, of their anceſtors, which they take care to adorn. Some of them poſſeſs cloſe to their houſes, gardens, trees, or cultivated grounds, and particularly ſome ſpring or well of water. I was once travelling in the ſouth in the beginning of October, when

when the ſeaſon happened to be exceedingly hot, and the wells and rivulets of the country were all dried up. We had neither water for ourſelves nor for our horſes; and, after having taken much fruitleſs trouble to obtain ſome, we went and paid homage to a Saint, who, at firſt, pretended a variety of ſcruples before he would ſuffer infidels to approach; but on promiſing to give him ten or twelve ſhillings, he became exceedingly humane, and ſupplied us with as much water as we wanted; ſtill, however, vaunting highly of his charity, and particularly of his diſintereſtedneſs.

On the mountain of Aſkroo, at ſome diſtance from Fez, there formerly lived a Saint, whom the Brebes and Jews claim with equal devotion; the common opinion is, he was a Jew, who was buried in this part of Africa long before the introduction of Mahometaniſm. The wives of the Brebes and Jews who are deſirous of obtaining children, devoutly go, on foot, and climb to the top of this mountain, where is the ſanctuary of the Saint. Near to this

this ſanctuary, or tomb, is a laurel tree, that, for ſeveral ages, has revived from its own roots, which eaſily perſuades ſuperſtitious people that the divine property of this Saint was that of prolific virtue.

The propenſity of theſe people to ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and fanaticiſm, not only makes them reverence their Saints, but inſpires them with a veneration for ſuch Moors as have made the pilgrimage of Mecca, and by that holy act are ſuppoſed to have acquired an increaſe of perfection. They eagerly flock to meet them when they return, and this day is kept as a feſtival by the family of the *Hadgy*, for ſo thoſe Mahometans are called who go on pilgrimage to Mecca, becauſe that this conſecrated city is ſituated in the province of Hagias.

When a Moor, on his return from Mecca, re-enters the city in which he dwells, preceded by drums and hautboys, and followed by relations and friends, he beſtows a holy embrace on all he meets; and though before he was held an ignorant vaga-

vagabond, he aſſumes, on this day, a hypocritical gravity, which impoſes upon people eager to ſee and believe in wonders, and who croud to be hugged by him and receive an infuſion of his virtue. The veneration for theſe *Hadgy* is ſo great among the Moors, that it extends to the very animals; a camel that has been on pilgrimage to Mecca is well fed, and maintained without work, and is allowed to graze freely wherever he ſhall ſtray.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

THE pilgrimage to Mecca is impoſed by the law of Mahomet, but is diſpenſed with on the moſt trivial pretext. As the Mahometans, however, attribute to this pilgrimage the remiſſion of all their ſins, the moſt ſcrupulous and devout are very deſirous to undertake it, and eaſe their conſciences. The journey is ſtill more meritorious for the weſtern Mahometans than for the others, becauſe of the difficulties and dangers to which they are expoſed in traverſing the whole extent of Africa. The caravan aſſembles at Fez with great preparations, thence takes its departure *,

* The time of this departure is not fixed; it varies as the feſtivals of the Mahometans happen to vary: it is only neceſſary to arrive at Cairo about the ſeaſon in which the feſtival of the Ramadan is kept; the caravan departs thirty days after, and comes to Mecca before the Corban, or the feaſt of ſacrifices.

and croſſes the leſſer Atlas to come into the neighbourhood of Tunis, where it lays in a freſh ſtore of proviſions; the ſame is repeated at Tripoli, and it reſts awhile at this laſt place. It next proceeds acroſs the deſerts of Barca over moving ſands, which are blown and changed by every wind, and which leave no trace to guide the traveller.

When the winds of the ſouth or the eaſt begin to blow, the caravan is endangered, becauſe theſe winds, paſſing over burning plains, bear with them a ſuffocating heat. Obliged to halt, the camels are formed into a kind of ſhelter, under which the travellers, extended on the ground, endeavour to guard themſelves from this dangerous wind.

Camels are the only animals which can withſtand the fatigues of this painful journey, and that becauſe of the facility with which they can ſupport labour, hunger, and thirſt. There are always ſupernumerary camels to ſupply the places of thoſe that ſhall die on the road. The dy-

ing camels are a kind of alms for thoſe poor Moors, for ſuch there are, who always follow the caravan: the poor, being deſirous to expiate their ſins as well as the rich, flock to Mecca for abſolution; when a camel can travel no farther, he is delivered over to theſe hungry followers, who kill him immediately, rip him up, drink with avidity the water, which ſtill remains in the veſicles of the ſtomach, and then dreſs and eat his fleſh *.

* See page 166 concerning the conformation of the ſtomach of the camel

CHAP. III.

Of the Feſtivals of the Moors.

AS feſtivals are intimately connected with religion, I ſhall ſpeak a few words of thoſe of the Moors. The Oriental Mahometans by no means keep ſo many feſtivals as the Catholic Chriſtians; but the Mahometans of the weſt have multiplied them, and obſerved them with much greater zeal than do the Ottomans. It appears to be a general rule that the people who enjoy leaſt wealth, and freedom, are thoſe who, by way of compenſation, are moſt deſirous of keeping feſtivals. The Turks keep the paſſover of Biram, or Bayram, which follows their lent, only three days, and they dedicate the like ſpace of time to that of the Corban, which happens ſeventy days after.

The

The Mahometans celebrate the latter feſtival, which ſignifies oblation, or the feaſt of ſacrifices, by offering up one or ſeveral ſheep each family, the fleſh of which is carefully diſtributed among the poor.

The Emperor of Morocco holds this feſtival without the city that more people may aſſemble, and thus preſerves the cuſtom the Moors had of praying in the open fields before they were converted to Mahometaniſm. He ſends a ſlain ſheep to his palace by a horſeman, and, if the heart palpitates when it arrives there, this is interpreted to be a good omen. Neither the origin nor the motive of this ſuperſtitious cuſtom are at preſent known.

The two feſtivals above mentioned are the only ones which the Mahometans of the eaſt obſerve with great ceremony, and the people do not labour during theſe three days. The Moors, either becauſe they are more devout, or leſs induſtriouſly inclined, keep each of theſe feſtivals eight days; they do the ſame on the anniverſary of Mahomet, which they

call Milood; and alſo at the feſtival of the new year, which they celebrate ten days after its commencement. It is the cuſtom at this latter feſtival to beſtow alms, as it is in ſome parts of Europe to ſend new years' gifts. On this occaſion the Moors are, many of them, very ready and eager to receive; but thoſe who are capable of giving, very œconomically, ſtay at home ſhut up in their houſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Alms-giving and Hoſpitality.

MAHOMET made alms-giving a very principal article in his religion; but it is obſerved with much leſs generoſity among the Moors than among the Turks. Very few beggars are to be found in Turkey, and alms are ſo properly diſtributed to them as to prevent their increaſe. There, too, hoſpitality is ſo regularly obſerved that the houſe is open, at meal-time, to all who wiſh to enter. The ſame cuſtom is alſo found among the Moors, who are ſomewhat at their eaſe, and perſons of diſtinction; but it is by no means in the ſame general uſe; becauſe, in reality, neither their wants nor their wealth are the ſame.

The Mahometan religion ſeems to enjoy an advantage over every other in teaching

a more perfect reſignation to the decrees of Providence. Muſſulmen, of all the religious ſectaries, are the leaſt affected by the viciſſitudes of fortune, or the loſs of riches, employments, and honours. This patience, under ſufferings, ſeems effectually to prove a more perfect ſubmiſſion to the will of the Supreme Being, and a more intimate perſuaſion that every accident and circumſtance of life are, without exception, the invariable decrees of deſtiny.

The concluſions drawn from this doctrine ought to afford preſervatives againſt every kind of ſuperſtition; to which, notwithſtanding, the Mahometans, and particularly the Moors, are utterly addicted; it is the intereſt of their Prieſts (as it ſeems to have been thought that of all other Prieſts) to encourage ſuch ſilly weakneſſes that they themſelves may obtain more reſpect, and give the greater credit to their amulets againſt ſickneſs, the malice of the evil-eyed, and the influences of ſpirits and demons. Theſe amulets contain paſſages of the Koran ſown between two bits of morocco in a round, ſquare,

ſquare, or triangular, form, and which the people carry about them, and make their children carry, nay, their very beaſts, to prevent every kind of accident and evil augury.

The Moors invoke the Saint, whom they hold moſt in devotion, with the like confidence, praying him to guard them from any ſuppoſed danger. Theſe people may have adopted ſuch ſuperſtitions before, or after, they became Mahometans; but they are, certainly, not only foreign to, but appear to be irreconcileable with, the law of predeſtination. It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to explain all the various, abſurd, and contradictory opinions of men.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Government of the Empire of Morocco.

NO government can be imagined more abſolute than that of Morocco: it is ſubordinate to no one invariable principle which ſhall reſtrain the will of the Monarch, or which may ſerve as a baſis of public confidence. Certain of the blind ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects, or ſlaves, the Deſpot here unites in himſelf every kind of power; all is dependant on his arbitrary will; he makes, breaks, changes, and varies, the laws, according to the caprice, the convenience, or the intereſt, of the moment. Supreme power is here wholly uncontrolled, having, apparently, nothing to fear.

The ſubject throughout this empire cannot

not ſay, of any thing, this is mine; not even of his opinion, or his exiſtence: his maſter deprives him of property, or of life, whenever it ſhall ſo pleaſe him, he holding them merely as a depoſit. The fortune, or fate of men, in a government ſo deſpotic, cannot acquire the leaſt ſtability: to be rich, is to be guilty of a capital crime, which the Deſpot puniſhes, how and when he pleaſes, according as avarice incites.

It may be that there are governments in Aſia equally arbitrary and deſpotic; but to be more ſo than that of Morocco is impoſſible. The Grand Signior, who is held to be an abſolute Prince, cannot, in every point of view, ſo be called: he is himſelf held in reſtraint by the laws of the State, and aſſumes a right over the life and property of individuals only in concurrence with theſe laws: on them are founded the all-ſovereign power of Turkey; but this power may alſo from them receive checks. If the Sultan be allowed to put thoſe to death who are in the adminiſtration of affairs, it is becauſe that the miniſters of

State

State are his ſlaves, and he therefore has the power of life and death over them. By puniſhing them for their exactions, and confiſcating their property for the benefit of the national treaſury, he conſoles the oppreſſed people, who conſider ſuch acts as juſt, and think the Deſpot ought ſometimes thus to take public vengeance, and reſtore public tranquillity. This treaſury they conſider as the property of the People, and not merely of the Prince.

Neither has the Grand Signior the power to ſeize, for the uſe of the treaſury, the effects of a Viſier, when made over in reverſion to moſques. His wealth, in conſequence of this title of poſſeſſion, or reverſion, becomes ſacred and inviolable by a law which religion ſanctions; and the Deſpot, who ſhould dare to violate that law, would no longer enjoy his rights of ſovereignty; for the People no longer reſpect thoſe rights than while they are ſuppoſed to be according to law.

At Conſtantinople the men of the law, in whom are united Juriſprudence and the Sacer-

Sacerdotal office, form an inſurmountable barrier to the deſpotiſm of the Sovereign; and this is, there, the balance of power. The legiſlative body influences the civil and political operations, decides on war and peace; and the deſtiny of the Sultan himſelf has ſometimes depended on its reſolutions and its caprices. At Morocco the will of the Monarch knows no ſuch bounds: the Deſpot, according to his good pleaſure, makes war and peace; his determinations are neither ſubordinate to a Council nor a Divan; they depend only on his convenience and his will, and he acts without reſtraint.

Yet the Deſpot of Morocco does not, by any act of authority, ſeize upon his neighbour's wife; he does not commit open violation on legal engagements: that would be to reverſe the whole order of things, and ſubvert his own power. Theſe ſlaviſh people in him behold the repreſentative of Divinity; and, were he not to reſpect their received opinions and prejudices, all would be overturned, ſince theſe are the ſacred ties of the public confi-

dence,

dence, and, by tearing off this bandage, he muſt reſtore the blind to ſight.

In this barbarous government, the ſubject, who is a cypher in the State, wiſhes to remain unknown, and hide himſelf from his maſter's preſence. Princes and Kings, who ought, when raiſed over other men, to watch for their welfare, and by exerting the nobleſt qualities of man gain their love and reſpect, in Morocco inſpire only fears and terror.

The Emperor of Morocco entruſts no one with the adminiſtration of his eſtates. Such miniſters, indeed, ſeem incompatible with a government where all is ſubordinate to the arbitrary will of the Sovereign. This Monarch would ſuppoſe his power enfeebled, were he to tranſmit a portion of his authority to one of his ſlaves; he inſpects all, and employs himſelf with equal intereſt, whether it be to re-eſtabliſh order in a province, or to regulate ſome domeſtic diſpute; and as his reſolutions are always determined according to the conveniency

of

of the moment, they neceſſarily vary with each varying circumſtance.

All perſons in the ſervice of the Deſpot are no more in Morocco than the organs and inſtruments of his pleaſure: their offices are not fixed, or ſtated; one ends what another has begun; contradictory orders are often iſſued on the ſame day, and he who receives them knows not which he had beſt execute.

The ſecretaries and agents of the Prince, who are very numerous, have neither any certain employment nor pay; their journies, and the ſmall expences they are at in his ſervice, are wholly gratuitous; and the Emperor leaves the means of reimburſing and rewarding themſelves for their labours to their own addreſs.

The Mooriſh monarchs have not the ſame ideas with European ſovereigns concerning the adhering to their word; they, perhaps, regard that reſpect which men and kings owe to the engagements they enter into as giving limits to ſupreme

power:

power: "Takeſt thou me for an infidel," ſaid an Emperor of Morocco to a foreigner, "that I muſt be the ſlave of my word? "Is it not in my power to ſay and unſay "whenever I ſhall pleaſe?" Such are the ſtrange opinions they hold of their own puiſſance, by which they ſuppoſe they may rid themſelves of every thing moſt ſacred*.

What is called the Court in Europe, that is to ſay, an aſſemblage of thoſe who moſt immediately govern the ſtate, is expreſſed by the word *Magaſin*. All people attached to the ſervice of the Sovereign are alſo called Magaſini †. By Magaſin is un-

* John, King of France, was taken priſoner at the battel of Poitiers, in 1356, and, afterward, preferred returning priſoner to England to any violation of his word. "Were "truth, ſaid he, baniſhed from the reſt of the world, it ſtill "ought to be found in the mouths of kings."

† The word Magaſin is only a corruption of the Arabic words *Mal-Haſne*, a place where riches are depoſited. Haſne, ſtanding alone, ſignifies the treaſure of the Prince. It ſhould ſeem probable that we alſo have derived our word, Magaſin, in French, in Engliſh, Magazine, from the Arabic; it having exactly the ſame meaning.

derſtood a cloſe and reſpected place, and ſuch in diſtinction ought a court to be among an erratic nation who live under tents.

The principal officers attached to the ſervice of the Emperor, whom he diſtinguiſhes by the name of Sabo, that is to ſay, friends or companions, are employed as domeſtics in the palace. So, in the time of Mahomet, Abdallah, his father-in-law, took care of his pillow, his toothpick, and his ſhoes. Such employments at the court of Morocco are only honorary, giving thoſe who enjoy them an opportunity of approaching the perſon of the Prince, and the favours he beſtows are their only revenue.

In whatever part of his empire the Monarch happens to be, he grants public audiences four times a week for the diſtribution of juſtice; and this the Moors call holding the *Meſhooar*. While performing theſe functions, the original inſtitution of which were equally reſpectable to King and People, he ſits on horſeback under the

cover of an umbrella, carried by one of his grooms; and this, in Morocco, is the ſole diſtinctive mark of royalty. He is ſurrounded by his principal officers, who approach his perſon, and by a number of ſoldiers under arms. Here the aſcendancy of opinion, and the whole power of depotiſm, are beheld. The Janizaries, and all ſoldiers at the court of the Grand Signior, are unarmed; and, were not this precaution taken, revolutions would be exceedingly frequent at Conſtantinople. The Janizaries, who have performed any remarkable ſervices, are there acquainted with their power; but the military ſlaves of Morocco are acquainted only with the power of their maſter.

All Moors, without exception, who have any complaint or remonſtrance to make, have the liberty to come to the Meſhooar, or public audience. Here too the couriers, who have been ſent with intelligence to the Emperor, are announced, and the contents of their diſpatches made known to him; he is informed in an inſtant of what paſſes in his ſtates, and gives neceſ-

ſary

ſary orders accordingly to the Alcaids, Secretaries, or other officers, who are always in his train ready to execute his commands.

The proceſs of juſtice is exceedingly ſwift on theſe occaſions; the ſentence of the maſter is without appeal. I was at the public audience held at Mequinez in July 1775, when the Emperor cauſed a governor of the province of Rif to be killed by clubs, after firſt having had his hands cut off, and his body was caſt into the open fields *. The Monarch, all in agitation, alighted from his horſe to kiſs the earth, and pay homage to God for this act of juſtice. Having mounted again, he bade me approach; and I had an audience of conſiderable length.

As the Emperor of Morocco receives, during theſe public audiences, the viſits of

* This governor was puniſhed as a traitor. He had been ſuſpected of a clandeſtine intercourſe with the governor of Melilla during the ſiege of that place, and had afterwards manifeſtly diſobeyed the orders of the Emperor.

Ambaſſadors, conſuls, merchants, or other foreigners: affairs are here treated of publicly. Whatever requires ſecreſy and diſcretion is either given in writing or told to confidential perſons, if ſuch can be found among theſe people, and in a court where there is no other ſyſtem than that of the intereſt and convenience of the moment.

No one is admitted to theſe public audiences without a preſent proportionate to his wealth or ſtation, or to the nature of the affairs concerning, and the circumſtances under, which he is obliged to treat. Foreigners uſually make preſents to all thoſe who are attached to the ſervice of the Emperor; and theſe perſons often invent or give birth to meſſages, true or falſe, from the Monarch, that they may multiply the contributions. The Moors are leſs expoſed to theſe trifling vexations, which, from cuſtom, are become law; yet they do not preſent themſelves without offering ſome homage of their ſubmiſſion. The governors of provinces give money, ſlaves, horſes, and camels; private perſons pre-

ſent haicks, carpets, cloths, or other effects; a poor Moor will offer an old horſe, or camel, two ſheep, a goat, nay, even three hens, or a dozen of eggs.

This reſpectable cuſtom, by which the Emperor admits all people to his audience, and there renders public juſtice, is ſome allay, ſome melioration, of the rigours of the government, and a conſolation to ſubjects ever expoſed to oppreſſion. It reſtrains the ſtill greater abuſes of authority which they elſe might ſuffer from the governors of provinces and cities, to whom alone, becauſe of the diſtance at which they live, the ſovereign is obliged to confide a conſiderable degree of his power, and deſpotiſm paſſes from the maſter to the ſlave.

The governors, or baſhaws, excluſively, regulate the police of their diſtricts; they are careful to increaſe the revenue by their authority, or by taking advantage of the altercations which the ſpirit of inquietude raiſes among the Moors. When theſe baſhaws have amaſſed riches, the Emperor is equally careful to ſtrip them; and this

is a kind of retributive juſtice, which turns to the benefit of his treaſury; money, in this government, conſtitutes the crime, or obtains the pardon of the accuſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Laws and Adminiſtration of civil and criminal Juſtice.

THERE is no code of laws in the empire of Morocco, but inſtead of a civil they have a religious code; the practice of juriſprudence is reduced to the application of certain principles, to be found in the Koran and its commentators, and in a practical knowledge of the precedents eſtabliſhed in the various juriſdictions. There are Cadis and governors in the cities and countries for the adminiſtration of juſtice; and notaries, or *Talbes*, to certify deeds, and all which relates to the ſecurity of property, whoſe pay is moderate.

All litigations concerning property, ſucceſſion, and the various claims of intereſt,

are brought before the Cadi of each town, or of each diſtrict of the province; the parties ſometimes plead themſelves, but more often by attorney. Theſe ſuits are not loaded by forms; their proceedings are very ſimple, and attended with little expence. The Cadi, aſſiſted by ſome other men of the law, conſiders the pleadings and the various circumſtances, and gives ſentence according to the majority of opinions. Such ſentences are always founded on the law, the principles of which are extracted from the Koran, or on cuſtoms that, in certain diſcuſſions, ſupply the place of law.

Should the parties not be ſatisfied with the judgement given, they have the power of appeal to the Emperor; but this very rarely happens, for, in countries ſo poor, ſuits are not only very ſeldom of ſufficient conſequence to ſupport great expences, but the Moors alſo prefer the ſentence of the Cadi, or an accommodation, be it what it may, to the arbitrary judgement of the Monarch. It is policy among theſe people to hide as much as they can all knowledge of

of what their ſubſtance is from a maſter ſo abſolute, who might be liable to reconcile the parties, by ſeizing himſelf upon their property.

The governors of cities do not hear any of theſe litigated cauſes; authority with them ſupplies the place of law; their juriſdiction, unclogged by every kind of formality, extends over the police of the cities and the high roads, the regulation of markets, the price of proviſions, quarrels, thefts, aſſaults, and every thing in which the public ſafety is concerned. The judgements they give are always arbitrary, and generally conſiſt in diſtributing the baſtinado with equal liberality to the guilty and innocent *, committing them to

* Mr. Boſville and three other Engliſh gentlemen of fortune, whoſe honour and veracity are undoubted, but whoſe names, not being perſonally acquainted with them, I forbear to mention, were travelling in Morocco, in the year 1767. The mule-drivers, employed by Mr. Boſville and his companions, happened to quarrel with ſome other of the low people; they were all taken before the Alcaid. The noiſy, clamorous, and iraſcible Moors, unanimouſly called for vengeance on each other, all ſpeaking together. It

to ſome days impriſonment, whence they are releaſed by money, and in ſentencing them to pecuniary mulcts, which bear leſs proportion to the delinquency than to the wealth of the culprit, or the whim or convenience of the judge. The rich therefore rarely ſuffer any great puniſhment, though they ſhould have been concerned in ſome criminal affair; and in this reſpect the Moors, in reality, do but reſemble moſt other nations.

The Moors ſeldom come to blows; when they quarrel, they will inſult and abuſe

It was a quarrel in bedlam. The ancient Alcaid, ſitting croſs-legged, with his black beard to his girdle, with great affectation of coolneſs and gravity, took the ſhorteſt and uſual method of quieting this uproar: he waved his hand and ordered the Moors all out, without examination, without any diſtinction, whatever, between guilty and innocent, to receive the baſtinado. This ended, they returned very calm, and little deſirous of farther hearing or *juſtice*.

I have the ſame Gentleman's teſtimony, and alſo that of ſeveral reſpectable merchants, who were perſonally acquainted with Mr. Chenier for the authenticity of the facts he relates, and the juſtneſs with which he depicts the manners of the Moors. They are farther confirmed, alſo, by the beſt writers on Morocco; French and Engliſh; Travellers and Hiſtorians. T.

each

each other, but not ſtrike. It is cuſtomary among them to chaſtiſe him who gave the firſt blow, as a kind of retaliation; after which he may, if he can, prove that his cauſe was good.

Although perſonal reſpect is paid in the States of Morocco to thoſe who are well informed, the legiſlative body has neither the power nor conſiſtence which it has in Turkey; the men of the law have no influence whatever over government, nor is there any intermediate power between the Sovereign and ſubject, the maſter and the ſlave. The Emperors of Mórocco may have occaſionally conſulted people learned in the law, but it was to give an appearance of form and juſtice, and a greater degree of validity to their deciſions. Neither is this formality anywiſe neceſſary in Morocco; whereas it is indiſpenſable in Turkey, where the Mufti gives his opinion on whatever intereſts the State.

As thoſe who have ſtudied the law among the Moors are not held in the ſame degree of reſpect as among the Turks, the judges

judges are under more conſtraint in the exerciſe of their function; they literally follow the expreſſions of the law, and dare not take upon themſelves to ſoften or increaſe the ſentence. Thus thoſe remarkable and ſagacious judgments, which are often pronounced in Turkey, are unknown in the courts of Morocco. The Turkiſh Cadi ſagely follows the rules of equity, and departs from the letter of the law, when neceſſary, to increaſe or mitigate puniſhment.

There are numerous anecdotes among the Turks, which prove the good ſenſe, juſtneſs and penetration of their judges, in the deciſions they pronounce; as there likewiſe are of the art with which they make the office they hold profitable, and which is but a kind of annual farm. Such examples among the Moors are more uncommon and leſs marking; but in return they poſſeſs governors, who are exceedingly adroit, and whoſe ſubtilty in watching over all that concerns their adminiſtration can ſcarcely be exceeded.

Several

Several anecdotes are told of a governor of Fez, which merit to be cited, becauſe they contain traits of national character.

A young married woman had a lover, whom ſhe met clandeſtinely, and who, enraged with jealouſly, having ſome cauſe to ſuſpect her fidelity, ſtrangled her one night, and threw her into the river. Her body, waſhed by the current, was carried down to a mill, where her hair got entangled in the mill wheel; the miller perceiving it, went terrified to inform the governor, who commanded him to keep the ſecret, and bring him the head of the woman in a ſack.

The governor placed this head in a chamber, and ſent for the women who ſerve at the baths, that they might diſcover who ſhe was; he then ſtrongly recommended ſecreſy to theſe women, which they are not in this country very exact in obſerving. He immediately went to viſit the huſband, and queſtioned him concerning his wife—"She has been at the houſe "of her father ever ſince yeſterday," ſaid the

the Moor—"Concerning that we muſt "enquire," ſaid the Governor. The Governor and the huſband then went to the father, who ſaid it was true his daughter had come to ſee him the day before, but that ſhe had returned without making a moment's ſtay.

The Governor then accompanied the huſband to his own houſe, and ſhewed him the head of his wife, recommending him to diſſemble his affliction, and, having reconducted him home, aſked to ſee all his wife's clothes. After examining them piece by piece, he aſked the huſband whether it was he who had preſented her with them all. All were acknowledged by the huſband to have been his gifts, except a rich ſaſh, worked in ſilk and gold, of the manufacture of Fez.

The Governor took this ſaſh, and ſent for the workmen to know by whom it had been made, pretending he wanted one of the ſame pattern; the workmen, having made but three, declared who the different perſons were by whom they had been

been bought. Thus proceeding, ſtep by ſtep, he came to the knowledge of the lover who had committed the murder.

The Governor then ſent for this lover, and he, confeſſing his crime, prevailed on the other to keep the ſecret for a gift of three thouſand ducats, or about ſome eight hundred pounds; that is to ſay, one thouſand for himſelf, one thouſand for the huſband, and a thouſand for the father. The Governor gave the father a portion, ſuch as the law allowed, but ſent nothing to the huſband, holding that he was ſufficiently recompenſed in ſuffering no puniſhment for not having better watched the conduct of his wife. This was giving him a leſſon, the value of which ſeems beſt known among nations where the women are ſlaves, and where the name of huſband is ſynonymous to that of tyrant.

Another adventure of gallantry had alſo occaſioned the murder of another young woman. A ſcavenger, being well paid, carried the body very early in the morning, cut in ſmall pieces, upon his aſs, among the filth

of

of the city. As he paſſed by the Governor the ſcavenger ſaluted him with an air of embarraſſment, which raiſed the ſuſpicions of the Governor, who had ſeen him paſs every day without any ſuch ceremony. The Governor, imagining there was ſome cauſe for this behaviour, called the ſcavenger, interrogated him with threats, and diſcovered the true motive of his confuſion, which he turned to his own account.

This ſame Governor having cited three young men to appear before him, who were accuſed of ſtealing pigeons of a rare ſpecies, made them a ſign to ſit down; then, addreſſing them, ſaid—"Thoſe who "would deny that they had ſtolen pigeons "ought, at leaſt, to take care not to leave "the feathers about their heads." One of the three, who was not yet old enough to have learnt diſſimulation and preſence of mind, immediately lifted up his hand to his bonnet, to ſhake off the feathers, and thus diſcovered himſelf to be the thief; after which he did not deny the fact.

Thus

Thus we find among theſe rude people, with whom inſtinct ſeems to hold the place of reaſon, men who are as intelligent and as artful as the inhabitants of civilized nations, perhaps more ſo. The art of knowing man is not indeed to be taught, nor is it the effect of education, but the fruit of experience and reflection; thoſe men, therefore, whoſe attention is leaſt diſturbed, either by diſſipation, the love of pleaſure, or the deſire of acquiring knowledge, have, in this reſpect, the moſt advantage.

CHAP. VII.

Of the State of Knowledge among the Moors.

ARTS and Sciences flouriſh only in freedom, and find not the leaſt encouragement under governments wholly deſpotic. The Moors, who derive their language and religon from the Arabs, ſeem not in any manner to have participated of their knowledge. United and confounded as thoſe of Morocco have been with the Moors of Spain, the latter of whom cultivated the arts, and gave birth to Averroes, and many other great men, neighbours, dependants, or pupils, of the city of Fez, the academies of which have been vaunted, and which have produced writers. The Moors of this empire have preſerved no traces of the genius of their anceſtors; it is not very apparent that thoſe revolutions,

tions, which have overthrown empires, have altered the characterers of nations. Subjugated by the Turks, the Greeks have loſt their liberty, but they have preſerved their genius; and, were they free, we ſhould ſee the happy days of ancient Greece revive in hiſtorians, philoſophers, warriors, and poets. Men, like plants, only degenerate when they are no longer cultivated. I know not whether it ſhould be attributed to the influence of climate, or to thoſe effects which are the reſult of a vitiated government, but the Moors in general appear to me leſs ſuſceptible of energy and virtue than other men.

The Moors have no conception of the ſpeculative ſciences; in this reſembling the ancient Arabs, thoſe among them who can read, and the number is exceedingly ſmall, ſeldom read any thing but their books of religion. Education conſiſts merely in learning to read and write; and as the revenues of the learned are derived from theſe talents, the Prieſts and Talbes among them are the ſole depoſito-

ries of this much knowledge; the children of the Moors are taught in their ſchools to read and repeat ſome ſixty leſſons, ſelected from the Koran, which, for the ſake of œconomy, are written upon ſmall boards; theſe leſſons being once learned, the ſcholar is ſuppoſed to have obtained ſufficient knowledge to leave ſchool; on this occaſion he rides on horſeback through the city, followed by his comrades, who ſing his praiſes: this to him is a day of triumph; to the ſcholars an incitement to emulation, a feſtival for the maſter, and a day of expence for the parents; for in all countries, wherever there are feſtivals and proceſſions, there alſo are eating and drinking.

At Fez, where ſome ideas of urbanity are preſerved, there is ſome ſmall degree more of inſtruction to be obtained in the ſchools; and the Moors, who are a little wealthy, ſend their children thither to have them inſtructed in the Arabic language, and in the religion and laws of their country. Here ſome of them alſo acquire a little

little taſte for poetry; the Arabs not only celebrated extraordinary events in their poems, but alſo were accuſtomed to ſpeak in verſe in their aſſemblies, and in their ceremonial viſits. It may be added that the Arabic tongue, by its copiouſneſs, energy, and the metaphors which it is capable of, is, perhaps, better adapted to poetry than any other living language.

The Moors are alſo in the habit of rhyming and ſinging the hiſtory of any extraordinary event. Some have ſuppoſed that this cuſtom has been introduced, among poliſhed nations, from political motives, to amuſe the people, and make them laugh, when they might otherwiſe become too ſerious; but it is much more natural to conjecture that, orignally, the end of ſuch rhymes was information, and the preſerving of hiſtorical events in the memory of a multitude of citizens, who had not learnt to read. The Moors, who happen to be ſomewhat more learned than common, amuſe themſelves by propoſing the ſolution of enigmas that are tolerably verſified; he who divines the

meaning, muſt uſe the ſame rhymes as thoſe in which the enigma was compoſed, as if it were an anſwer to a queſtion.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Pharmacy, Phyſic, and Innoculation.

THE Arabs, of all the ſciences they knew, were moſt induſtrious in the ſtudy of phyſic and aſtronomy, which merited this preference, becauſe of their utility. The art of preſerving health, and of regulating agriculture conformable to the order of the ſeaſons, muſt every where firſt have claimed the inquiries of the human mind. The Moors, who formerly inhabited Spain, gave great application to the improvement of theſe ſciences, and they have left manuſcripts behind them, which ſtill remain ſo many precious monuments of their genius; nor, it is to be preſumed, will theſe manuſcripts always continue buried in oblivion, but will ſometime be given to the world.

The

The modern Moors are infinitely degenerate; they have not the leaſt inclination to the ſtudy of ſcience; they know the properties of ſome ſimples; but, as they do not proceed upon principle, and are ignorant of the cauſes and effects of diſeaſes, they generally make a wrong application of their remedies. Their moſt uſual phyſicians are their Talbes, their Fakirs, and their Saints, in whom they place a ſuperſtitious confidence.

Fevers are the moſt common diſeaſes of theſe hot countries, and are occaſioned by the uſe of crude meats, bad food, and the daily tranſition from heat to humidity; and fevers are placed, by theſe ignorant people, among ſupernatural afflictions. A fiend, according to them, occaſions their hot and cold fits, and the delirium which follows the body's agitation does but confirm them in their error: thus the ſick die, becauſe they do not offer them any other aids than thoſe which depend on miracles, and becauſe they are ignorant of the workings of nature. The hiſtory of the world every where proves men have ſuppoſed the influence

ence of evil ſpirits; and this influence is always the greateſt in nations the leaſt enlightened. By the force of reflection, only, and their improvements in knowledge, have Europeans at length diſcarded theſe ſupeſtitious ideas of ſorcery, magic, and enchantment, and only in their moſt diſtant provinces do ſuch abſurdities ſtill preſerve ſome power, over the imagination of men.

The ſmall-pox, which is ſaid to have been brought to Europe either from Aſia or Africa, ſome affirming it was not known before the cruſades, is the only diſeaſe, perhaps, for the cure of which the Moors do not invoke their Saints; it comes when it pleaſes, and does little miſchief, becauſe of the temperance of the climate and the abſtinence of the people. They are acquainted with inoculation in the interior parts of the country; but it is practiſed with leſs preparatoty caution here than among the modern Greeks, from whom it has been learned and adopted by Europeans. The Moors, however, do not inoculate, except thoſe who live on the moun-

mountains, the Brebes, and the Shellu of the ſouth *; and the cuſtom is leſs common among the latter. Hence it may be concluded that the ſmall-pox was known in Africa before the invaſion of the Arabs, and that the mode of communicating it by inſertion muſt have been more ancient in theſe countries than Mahometaniſm; becauſe, however powerful the aſcendant of religion may be, it is very ſlow in rooting out the prejudices and cuſtoms of nations †.

In cities, where Mahometaniſm is obſerved with the moſt ſcruple, they take no precaution whatever to avoid the effects of

* I have before ſaid, the Brebes and the Shellu have the ſame origin, having preſerved the ſame language; but the latter, by their communication with the ſouthern provinces, may have varied their cuſtoms.

† Some have affirmed, the ſmall-pox was unknown to the Greeks or Romans; and it is generally believed it was not introduced into Europe till after the invaſion of the Arabs. Some phyſicians have therefore concluded that, not being a diſeaſe peculiar to our climates, it might be wholly extirpated by interdicting all communication with infected places, and by purifying every ſpecies of clothing which have been uſed by the diſeaſed.

this

this diſeaſe; precaution would be incompatible with the religion of Mahomet, which leaves the care of acting and preventing to fate. Voltaire wants foundation for aſſerting, as he has done in his literary miſcellanies, that the Turks inoculate their children. The incertitude which the effects of inoculation have occaſioned, and the inconveniences which may happen to be the conſequences, have given birth in Europe to a diverſity of opinions, and doubts have ariſen concerning the goodneſs of a practice ſo intereſting to humanity. Inoculation will, however, certainly obtain greater credit in France, ſince the Sovereign has diſpelled the fears of a nation which ſtands diſtinguiſhed for an attachment to its Kings, by having had the royal children inoculated, and thus keeping this contagious poiſon, which has ſo often left whole families in mourning and grief, at a diſtance from the throne.

Although the Moors have little knowledge of pharmacy, and little inclination for the arts, ſtill neceſſity, in ſome inſtances, has rendered them induſtrious; ſome

ſome among them have been bold enough to cut for the ſtone, a diſeaſe known in this country. I ſaw a ſtone lately extracted as large as a pigeon's egg, which had various projecting points. I ſhuddered at the ſight of the inſtruments employed by theſe ſurgeons; they conſiſted in a bad razor, and a kind of hook, rudely made, which reſembled a nail bent.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Aſtronomy and Eclipſes.

ASTRONOMY, the firſt knowledge of which we obtained from the Arabs, (or, perhaps, the Egyptians,) and which they themſelves learnt in conſequence of their wandering lives, is entirely, or almoſt, unknown to the Moors; for, though they likewiſe wander from place to place, there are few, if any, among them who have a knowledge of the motion of the heavens, or who are capable from principle to direct their own courſe, by obſerving the courſe of the ſtars. They are therefore neceſſarily wholly unable to calculate eclipſes, which they always interpret to portend evil.

The eclipſe, which happened on the 24th of June, 1778, was central, and total at

at Sallee. I had been careful in foretelling it would happen, that the terror of the people might thus be decreaſed; and, that I might the better obſerve it, I went into the country, whither I was followed by many people. In proportion as the ſun was concealed, my curious, intimidated followers, diſappeared one after the other to return to the city, and we remained only with two ſoldiers of the guard who grew pale, and whoſe dread was increaſed as the ſun loſt its brightneſs. At the moment that the eclipſe was total we heard the lamentable ſhrieks of women and children, who believed the end of the world was come, and only with returning light did the minds of the people recover ſome degree of confidence.

It is not extraordinary that a people, who have no theory of the circular motion of the ſtars, ſhould ſuffer conſternation at a phenomenon which ſeems to overthrow the order of nature. Superſtitious people have every where ſuppoſed eclipſes were ſent to preſage ſome calamity. The Moors,

Moors, being unable to reaſon on the cauſes of ſuch an appearance, imagine the ſun or the moon are in the power of a dragon that ſwallows them, and they offer up prayers that theſe luminaries may be delivered from an enemy ſo cruel and voracious.

Notwithſtanding the Moors have preſerved the wandering manners of the ancient Arabs, they have occupied themſelves leſs in the ſtudy of Aſtronomy. Endarkened by ignorance and ſuperſtition, they have been much more eager after aſtrology, an imaginary ſcience proper only to ſeduce and deceive the weak. This chimerical doctrine, which made ſo rapid a progreſs at Rome in deſpite of the edicts of the Emperors, muſt make ſtill greater advances among a people wholly ſtupid and ignorant, and ever agitated by the dread of preſent evils, or the hope of a more happy futurity. Magic, the companion of aſtrology, has here alſo found its followers, and is particularly ſtudied by the Talbes in the ſouthern parts, who ſucceſs-

ſucceſsfully uſe it in impoſing upon Mooriſh credulity with ſtrange dreams, and imbiguous forebodings and propheſies.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Language of the Moors.

THE Moors, of the Empire of Morocco, as well as thoſe to the northern limits of Africa, ſpeak Arabic; but this language is corrupted in proportion as we retire farther from Aſia, where it firſt took birth; the intermixture which has happened among the African nations, and the frequent tranſmigrations of the Moors, during a ſucceſſion of ages, have occaſioned them to loſe the purity of the Arabic language; its pronunciation has been vitiated, the uſe of many words loſt, and other foreign words have been introduced without thereby rendering it more copious; the pronunciation of the Africans, however, is ſofter to the ear and leſs guttural than that of the Egyptians.

Of all living languages, the Arabic is, beyond contradiction, the one moſt extenſively ſpoken: from the eaſtern to the weſtern ſhores of the ocean, which includes a ſpace of two thouſand leagues, from eaſt to weſt, the people ſpeak no other tongue; and with this a traveller may even make himſelf underſtood in the countries of the Mogul, and a part of India. The language, when written, is in effect much the ſame at Morocco as at Cairo, except that there are letters and expreſſions among the Moors which differ from thoſe of the Oriental Arabs, who, however, underſtand the Moors in converſation, notwithſtanding their vitiated manner of pronouncing. They mutually read each others writings, with ſome difficulty.

There is a very ſenſible difference among the Moors between the Arabic of the learned, and the courtiers, and that ſpoken by the people in general; and this difference is felt ſtill more in the provinces of the ſouth, or of the eaſt, and among the Moors who live in the deſerts, where the

the Arabic is yet farther disfigured by a mixture of foreign tribes.

The Brebes and the Shellu, who, as I have ſaid, appear to have had the ſame origin, for they have preſerved the ſame dialect, ſpeak a language which the Moors do not underſtand, and which ſeems to have no analogy with that of the latter. I dare not affirm it is the Punic, or the Numidian, but theſe people write their language in Arabic characters. I have thought it neceſſary here to collect ſome words of theſe languages, by which will be ſeen the intimate relation between that of the Brebes and the Shellu, and the very ſlight connexion theſe two languages have with the Arabic.

Comparative liſt of words between the Arabic language, as ſpoken in Morocco, and the languages of the Brebes and Shellu.

	Arabic of Morocco.	*Brebes.*	*Shellu.*
God,	Allah, Rabbi,	Allah, Rabbi,	Allah, Rabbi.
World,	Dounia,	Dounit,	Dounit.
Heaven,	Sema,	Aguena,	Aguelna.
Sun,	Shems,	Thafokt,	Thafokt.
Moon,	Kamar,	Aiour,	Aiour.
Stars,	Nejoun,	Yzheran,	Yzheran.
Earth,	Hard,	Aſhal,	Aqual.
Sea,	Baar,	Baar,	Baar.
Water,	Ma,	Aman,	Aman.
Fire,	Afia.	Tafit,	Taquat.
To drink,	Shereb,	Iſſou,	Iſſou.
To eat,	Coul,	Itch,	Itch.
To ſleep,	Requot,	Guan,	Guan.
To watch,	Feik,	Ionquir,	Oureignan.
Day,	Naar,	Souhaſs,	Haſſal.
Night,	Leil,	Iad,	Iad.
Man,	Ragel,	Argaz,	Argaz.
Woman,	Mara,	Tamtot,	Tamgart.
Father,	Bou,	Ibbas,	Babbas.
Mother,	Imma,	Imma,	Imma.
Child,	Iſir,	Herba,	Haial.
King,	Soultan,	Aguellid,	Aguellid.
Prince,	Sharif,	Sharif,	Sharif.
Slave,	Abd,	Iſmak,	Iſmak.
Subject,	Raya,	Rait,	Rait.
Living,	Ait,	Idert,	Iſſout.
Dead,	Mout,	Imout,	Imout.

Camel,

	Arabic of Morocco.	*Brebes.*	*Shellu.*
Camel,	Gemel,	Grouns,	Haram.
Horſe,	Haoud,	Hais,	Hais.
Ox,	Tor,	Ayougou,	Azguer.
Sheep,	Qbech,	Izimer,	Izimer.
Lion,	Sba,	Izem,	Izem.
Tiger,	Nemer,	Agouerzem,	Agouerzem.

NUMBERS.

One,	Ouaed,	Ian,	Ian.
Two,	Tnein, *or* Juz,	Sin,	Sin.
Three,	Tleta,	Querad,	Querad.
Four,	Arba,	Arba,	Qouz.
Five,	Kemſa,	Kemſa,	Cemouf.
Six,	Setta,	Setta,	Sediſe.
Seven,	Saba,	Saba,	Sa.
Eight,	Temenia,	Temenia,	Tem.
Nine,	Tſaeud,	Tſaeud,	Tza.
Ten,	Aſhara,	Aſhara,	Meraon.

The Brebes count the days of the week like the Moors, and both of them employ Arabic words. The Shellu enumerate the days after the ſame method, but in their own language. Both the Brebes and the Shellu denote the months of the year in the ſame manner as do the Moors and Arabs, and date from the ſame æra; that is to ſay, from the year of the Hegira.

The Koran, and books of prayer, of the Brebes and Shellu, are in Arabic, as likewiſe are their acts and title deeds, which are written by their Talbes, or learned men.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Character, Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Moors.

NO one can recollect the intolerable ſervitude in which the Moors are held without commiſſerating their ſtate; and yet, on a cloſer inſpection, the compaſſion which an idea of ſlavery inſpires is conſiderably abated. True it is that the nature of the government, which, though it cannot totally change the character of nations, has a prodigious influence over their minds, is one of the moral cauſes of the ferocity, ignorance, and cowardice, of theſe nations. Deſpotiſm ſo debaſes the ſoul that it is neither ſuſceptible of fortitude nor elevation; the ſlaves only know the will of their maſter, have not the leaſt idea of freedom, and have even loſt the re-

membrance of words which expreſs a ſenſe of their own worth and honour, and which ſeem only to appertain to the haughty and free mind. With leſs ſenſibility than other men, they are faithful neither to their relations, their friends, nor their country; their vices are the oppoſite of all good faith; they love not one another, and foreigners they love ſtill leſs.

It appears that the Moors, like all the other nations of hot climates, are more diſpoſed to ſubmit to ſlavery than the inhabitants of the north. The fewneſs of their wants, and the fertility of their lands, render them little addicted to labour; therefore have they little vigour, little of that characteriſtic energy in which noble ideas originate, which gives birth to great crimes, or great virtues. This ſlumber of the faculties keeps them in eternal ſtupidity, and is the very prop of deſpotiſm; for, it ſeems to be a well-founded remark that, governments are more or leſs arbitrary, in proportion as the people are more or leſs informed.

From the diſpoſition of the ſoil, or the quality of the food, the Moors are naturally meager; that licentiouſneſs in which they early indulge, alſo, greatly contributes to enervate and deprive them of muſcular ſtrength, rendering them timid and indolent; they have agility, but not vigour, and can longer ſupport the fatigues of running than of other bodily labour; they are tolerably well formed, have regular features, good teeth, fine eyes, but countenances deprived of expreſſion or mind. Perhaps theſe are rather the effect of phyſical than of moral cauſes. Hence too may we trace the reaſon of that melancholy, that mournful air, which is peculiar to the Moors. Their perſons, their whole appearance, bear the ſtamp of ſlavery and oppreſſion.

Avaricious by nature, theſe people are addicted to accumulate and to conceal wealth. Their belief concerning the creation of the world, however disfigured by variation of circumſtances, is the ſame as that of the Chriſtians; and one of their authors, depicting their avarice, invented an allegory equally judicious and moral.

" Adam,

" Adam, ſaid he, after having eaten the " forbidden fruit, aſhamed of his naked- " neſs, ſought to hide himſelf under the " ſhade of the trees that form the bowers " of Paradiſe; the gold and ſilver trees " refuſed their ſhade to the father of the " human race. God aſked them why " they did ſo; becauſe, replied the trees, " Adam has tranſgreſſed againſt your " commandment. Ye have done well, " anſwered the Creator; and, that your " fidelity may be rewarded, 'tis My decree " that men ſhall hereafter become your " ſlaves, and that in ſearch of you they " ſhall dig into the very bowels of the " earth."

That paſſion which univerſally domineers over man juſtifies this ingenious allegory; but the avarice of the Moors ſeems to juſtify it ſtill farther; with them gold and ſilver are neither eſtimated by their wants, nor emblematic of their paſſions, but rather objects of adoration.

Confidence and friendſhip are generally unknown among the Moors; they are inſenſible

ſible to the gentle impreſſions in which the benevolent and the worthy find ſuch pure delight; they are acquainted only with the fervor of the paſſions, ſcattering diſcord in families, and inſurrection in the ſtate; inceſſantly tormented by the impulſes of enmity, they ſeek to injure, and reciprocally to deſpoil each other of their wealth; intereſt is the ſecret ſource of their connections, and their hatred; obliged to hide, that they may preſerve their money, their ſecret often dies with them, fearing leſt, otherwiſe, their end ſhould be haſtened by a wife, a ſon, or a brother, who are themſelves impatient to ſeize upon their riches.

Although the Moors do not enjoy what they poſſeſs, they have not the leſs avidity: in exciting the generoſity of foreigners they are moſt ingenious. In love with money, only, they have no perſonal predilections; he who gives is their friend *; the enmity of people who put friendſhip

* A young Moor one day offered one of my ſervants to receive as many blows with a ſtick as he pleaſed, at the rate of

friendſhip up to auction, and among whom intereſt is the ſole motive of action, is, in fact, but little to be feared.

This avaricious propenſity of the Moors renders them pliant, cunning, and more penetrating than their apparent rudeneſs of manners would beſpeak. Little occupied in improving themſelves, they diſſemblingly ſtudy the characters of others, with whom they have buſineſs, while they, with equal adroitneſs, conceal their own; troubling themſelves little concerning delicacy, or probity, they employ all means to obtain their purpoſe. A perſon in office, in this reſpect, is no more to be truſted than a private individual.

I have heard of one of their governors who regularly went to drink tea with a foreigner, and who artfully ſtole his ſpoons. Another governor was appealed to in order to recover effects ſtolen, the

of twenty four for a Blanquil, or ſomething leſs than two pence. This was his firſt offer; he would, perhaps, have made a better bargain, had my ſervant been ſo diſpoſed.

theft

theft being proved. They were recovered, but the owner's loſs was not the leſs, he being obliged to make a preſent, at leaſt equal in value, to obtain the intervention of the governor.

It is uſual for theſe Alcaids to divide the perquiſites of their ſervants and ſoldiers, and thoſe who content themſelves with only the half are eſteemed honeſt. What I ſay muſt be generally underſtood; I mean not to affirm there are no individuals whoſe actions are juſt or generous; yet let thoſe who deal with them beware, for they will ever diſcover ſomething of the Moor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Thieves, Puniſhments, Trades, Games, and Sports.

THE lower orders, and eſpecially the country people, thieve from each other with great addreſs. When the nights are remarkably dark, or ſtormy, they creep along the Douhars, and carry off all they can ſeize, firſt undreſſing themſelves to nudity and crawling on all fours, ſo that in caſe of ſurprize they are not eaſily held.

The Mooriſh thieves are not intrepid, but what they want in courage they ſupply in cunning: I will cite two examples.

There is an incloſure walled round in the city of Morocco called Alcaiſſeria, the gates of which are nightly ſhut, and where the merchants have their ſhops and ware-

warehouſes. A thief perceiving there was a dry-well in this encloſure, between which and another well, without the walls, a communication might eaſily be effected, undertook the labour of making this ſubterranean communication. Having executed his project, and concealed himſelf in the Alcaiſſeria, he broke open the ſhop of the richeſt merchant, from which he ſtole money and other effects to the value of three or four hundred pounds. The burglary was next day perceived and reported to the Emperor, who immediately commanded all perſons found in the Alcaiſſeria, and who could not render a proper account of themſelves, to be brought before him; which order was obeyed. Among the perſons ſeized were many ſuſpicious Moors, whom the Monarch threatened all with inſtant death, if no diſcovery were made of the culprit or his accomplices.

The thief, who had been ſeized among the reſt, advanced, and, caſting himſelf at the Emperor's feet, ſaid, "I am the "guilty perſon, do with me whatever you "pleaſe;

"pleaſe; the crime I have commited is "ſufficient; I would not load myſelf "with the guilt of the death of ſo many "muſſulmen."

The Emperor, aſtoniſhed at the raſcal's generoſity, praiſed him for his confeſſion, and commanded him to reſtore the property to ſix of his guards, to whoſe charge he was committed. The thief led them back into the Alcaiſſeria, told them he had concealed the effects in a well, and that he would deſcend and bring them up; accordingly down he went, and, crawling through his ſubterranean paſſage, took to flight. The guards, at length, weary of calling and waiting, ſent one of their comrades into the well, who ſoon perceived the trick they had been played. They returned and gave an account of this to the Emperor, who, when he heard it, could not refrain laughter.

Another thief, who had been condemned to be hanged by the arm-pits on the highway, was attended by his wife, weeping and lamenting his ſufferings. Still deſirous

of

of exhibiting ſome new proof of his dexterity, he loudly and piteouſly called after a muleteer, who was paſſing with two loaded mules.

Have compaſſion, generous friend, ſaid he, on my wife and children; aſſiſt them to draw out ſome effects which I have hidden in a pit.

The muleteer refuſed, ſaying, the goods were ſtolen, and that if he were caught he ſhould be puniſhed. Nay, but, replied the malefactor, if thou wilt only aſſiſt my wife, thou ſhalt have the half.

On this the conſcientious muleteer conſented, and accompanied the wife to the place, who faſtened a cord round his body that ſhe might aid him as he deſcended into the pit. No ſooner was he at the bottom than ſhe threw him down the cord, and drove off the loaded mules.

Theft in Morocco is not puniſhed with death; the ſentence is variable and arbitrary, depending on circumſtances, which

may aggravate or leſſen the crime. The hand, or foot, of a highway robber, is uſually cut off, as was practiſed among the Arabs before Mahomet. I have ſeen a thief, who, after various thefts committed, had, by the Emperor's order, loſt both his hands, yet ſtill contrived to ſteal, alledging that he had now no other means to gain his bread.

Covetouſneſs naturally induces the love of gaming; but, as the Mahometan religion forbids betting of money, the government very carefully watches over this evil among the Moors, and they are only allowed publicly to play at cheſs, which is in itſelf a game ſufficiently intereſting without the aid of wagering. The Moors of the country are unacquainted with cards, but they play at hazard, making dice out of ſmall bones, and uſing their ſlippers as boxes.

The firſt and immediate wants of man are only felt among the Moors, as in other hot climates: the few enjoyments they taſte are all ſecret, and within their own houſes, carefully

carefully concealed from public view. Hence their talents find ſmall exertion; induſtry follows luxury and abundance, and is little ſeen where liberty is baniſhed and oppreſſion reigns. Heat, perhaps, too, may benumb the body, and with that the faculties of the mind, ſo neceſſary for the invention and perfection of the arts: thoſe of the Moors, indeed, are few, and in a rude ſtate; their workman have fewer tools, aids, and conveniences, than thoſe of Europe.

A goldſmith will come and work in the corner of a court, where he preſently fixes his ſtall; his anvil, hammer, bellows, files, and melting ladle, are all brought with him in a bag; his bellows are made of a goat's ſkin, into which he inſerts a reed, holding it with one hand, while with the other he preſſes the bag, after the manner of bagpipers; and this way lights and blows up his fire.

Other trades work with the like rude ſimplicity; they have not ſufficient employment to incite their emulation, or in-

creaſe their conveniences: yet does the ſight of a nation in this ſtate inſpire veneration; a compariſon is neceſſarily made between the various gradations of art and its progreſs toward perfection; while the diſtance between ſuch its moſt perfect ſtate and theſe feeble attempts creates aſtoniſhment.

The employments and profeſſions of man are ſubordinate to his wants; uſeful trades are therefore only known among the Moors; thoſe that appertain to pleaſure and luxury are there wholly ſuperfluous. The proceedings of government are too ſimple to excite conjecture and form politicians, and the condition of men in Morocco is almoſt uniform.

The governors of provinces and towns, deſirous of Court favour, ſend their ſons to attend on the Sovereign, where they find employment, according to their talents, in his ſervice, carrying his meſſages, and executing his commiſſions. Here are no fixed poſts or offices; the functions are merely temporary, domeſtic, and more or leſs dangerous, according to the character

of the reigning Monarch, or the uſe and abuſe of his confidence; in governments ſo cruel, courtiers uſually execute what the turbuleut paſſions of the tyrant command, and honour and probity there are ſeldom titles of recommendation.

Individuals, who have acquired ſome wealth, do not willingly ſend their ſons into the ſervice of the Emperor, leſt they ſhould endanger their fortuue, and expoſe themſelves to thoſe conſequences which reſult from the indiſcretion or inexperience of youth; they rather prefer educating them for the offices of Judges, or Talbes, if they have abilities, truſting them with money to trade, or employing them in the ſuperintendance of their gardens and grounds. Theſe are the general and principal occupations of the Moors.

They marry their children early that they may the ſooner addict them to employment, and prevent diſſipation. One profeſſion with them is equal to another, and they indifferently teach them to trade,

make them tailors, weavers, tanners, or ſhoemakers, as it may happen: no perſon is aſhamed of exerciſing a uſeful trade: the Cadi and the governor of a town each marry their daughter to a tradeſman, without ſuppoſing they have thereby degraded themſelves.

On the Friday, which is their day of prayer, or ſabbath, all the inhabitants of a town, clothed in the ſame kind of ſtuff and the ſame colour, are nearly all equal. In abſolute governments, where the deſpot is all, and the ſlave nothing, there is but little diſtinction of rank among men; differences there are, but they are momentary, appear and diſappear at the will of the maſter: the Emperor of Morocco of a ſoldier makes a Baſhaw, and of a Baſhaw a ſoldier*. I myſelf have known a governor depoſed by the Monarch, and condemned to ſweep the ſtreets of the town he had governed. Such caprices of for-

* The Moors call a governor of a province Baſhaw; in Turkey ſuch an one is called Pacha, or Paſhaw. Perhaps the latter have changed the B to a P.

tune

tune are not uncommon in arbitrary ſtates, where power paſſes rapidly from the maſter to the ſlave, and as rapidly is annihilated, making too ſlight an impreſſion for the poſſeſſor to become inflated with falſe ideas of his own poſitive ſuperiority. Few of the provincial governors but have felt the viciſſitudes of this tempeſtuous deſpotiſm; once ſtripped of their effects, they may again be reſtored, and recover their former dignity; the ſinner is abſolved, having, by rendering up his riches, waſhed away all iniquity.

The Moors have in general but few amuſements; the ſedentary life they lead in cities is little variegated, except by the care they take of their gardens, which are rather kept for profit than pleaſure. Moſt of theſe gardens are planted with the orange, the lemon tree, and the cedar, in rows, and in ſuch great quantities that the appearance is rather that of a foreſt than that of a garden. The Moors ſometimes, though rarely, have muſic in theſe retreats: a ſtate of ſlavery but ill agrees with the love of pleaſure: the peo-

ple of Fez alone, either from a difference in education, or becauſe their organs and ſenſibility are more delicate, make muſic a part of their amuſements. There are not in Morocco, as in Turkey, public coffee houſes *, where people meet to enquire the news of the day; but, inſtead of theſe, the Moors go to the barbers' ſhops, which, in all countries, ſeem to be the rendevouz of newſmongers. Theſe ſhops are ſurrounded by benches, on which the cuſtomer, the inquiſitive, and the idle, ſeat themſelves; and when there are no more places vacant, they crouch on the ground like monkies.

Shewmen and dancers come often into the towns, round whom the people aſſemble and partake of the amuſement for a very trifle. There are alſo a kind of wandering hiſtorians: the vulgar, who cannot read, and who every where are eager to

* Our coffee houſes, which are only an imitation of thoſe in Turkey, are, however, more elegant and amuſing. The police of Conſtantinople, watchful of political tranquillity, will not admit coffee houſes beyond a certain dimenſion, too ſmall to contain many people.

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hear extraordinary relations, are the more aſſiduous, in attending theſe narrators, as want of more extenſive information prevents the tale-teller remaining above a week in a place.

A common diverſion in the towns where there are ſoldiers, as well as in the country, is what the Moors call the game of Gunpowder; a kind of military exerciſe, that is the more pleaſing to theſe people inaſmuch as, by the nature of their government, they all are, or are liable to become, ſoldiers, therefore all have arms and horſes. By exploſions of powder too they manifeſt their feſtivity on their holidays.

Their game of Gunpowder conſiſts in two bodies of horſe, each at a diſtance from the other, galloping in ſucceſſive parties of four and four, and firing their pieces, charged with powder. Their chief art is in galloping up to the oppoſite detachment, ſuddenly ſtopping, firing their muſkets, facing about, charging, and returning to the attack; all which manœuvres are imitated

tated by their opponents. The Moors take great pleaſure in this amuſement, which is only an imitation of their military evolutions *.

Muley Yezit, one of the ſons of the reigning Emperor, who paſſed his youth among the ſoldiers, and who has acquired a paſſionate love of war, is exceedingly expert at theſe exerciſes. I have ſeen him fire three times on a gallop within a hundred and fifty, or two hundred paces. He ſtarts with one muſket in his hand, another laid acroſs his ſaddle, and the third ballanced on his head. The firſt is fired at parting, and given to a ſoldier, who runs by his ſide; he then fires the ſecond, and gives it likewiſe to take the third; after which he pulls up; and this is all executed in a moment.

* The Arabs appear to have introduced in Spain the exerciſe called *Juego de Cagnas*, which the Spaniards have adapted to their own cuſtoms. The Moors, in return, renounced the exerciſe which the Turks call *Gerid*, the moment muſkets ſupplied the uſe of lances.

Such is the chief diverſion of the Moors in their feſtivals, marriages, and every kind of rejoicing: the only honour paid to ambaſſadors, conſuls, and all foreigners, is that of this game of gunpowder; a ſport always attended with ſome danger, becauſe of the Moors want of prudence, and ſometimes with very unfortunate accidents.

The Moors, either from temperament, or the moral and phyſical reſult of their education, are leſs ſenſible of pain than the Europeans; almoſt naked, ever expoſed to the effects of the air, their muſcles acquire a numbneſs, which renders them leſs delicate, and which at length nearly deprives them of feeling. They ſeem, like the wild plants of their deſerts, to diſdain the inclemenices of the ſeaſons. Amid their military evolutions I have often ſeen man and horſe overſet, and the former riſe without hurt or ſprain. Their bodies, not being encumbered by their clothing, yield with facility to their motions, in which, perhaps, they have an advantage over the nations of Europe.

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The Emperor of Morocco often orders the hands of thieves to be cut off; who, immediately ſet at liberty after puniſhment, take the diſſevered hand up from the ground and run away. Such executions, being neither foreknown nor prepared, are performed with the knife of the firſt Moor that happens to be preſent, and who himſelf clumſily executes the ſentence of his maſter.

A gallant, accuſed by a huſband of being caught with his wife, was condemned by the Emperor to the baſtinado, which, for ſome time, made him think no more of his miſtreſs. The huſband, having been abſent, was informed on his return that the lover had been as aſſiduous as ever; again he went with his complaint to the Emperor, who gave the gallant up to him, and commanded him to puniſh him, ſo as to render him incapable of ever diſturbing his peace more. The huſband inſtantly took his knife, and made the gallant even more wretched than Abelard. I knew the unfortunate man who ſuffered this puniſhment; he loſt his beard by degrees,

grees, and inſenſibly, but became ſomewhat more fleſhy.

After performing ſuch barbarous amputations, the only dreſſing they give the wound is to ſmear it over with tar, which, ſay they, is a remedy for all ills: it may well be ſuppoſed that gallantry is not very common among the Moors, and that in this they have not approached European refinement. I may venture to affirm, however, as before ſaid, that theſe people are leſs alive to pain than the Europeans; there is no doubt but that ſeverity of education hardens the body, and ſtrengthens the conſtitution; both of which are only weakened by an exceſs of care and effeminacy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Food, Manner of eating, Marriages of Moors and Negroes.

THE Moors are little dainty in their choice of food, which is ſimple and frugal; they breakfaſt in the morning before they begin buſineſs; but their chief meal is that which they make after ſun ſet. Their moſt common diſh is, as I have already ſaid, the Cooſcooſoo; they alſo have beef, mutton, or fowls ſtewed, and eat roaſt meats; but ſuch delicacies are only for extraordinary occaſions, and among the wealthy.

The Moors know not the uſe of table cloths, forks, or ſpoons: their Cooſcooſoo is not liquid, but, though ſupplied with broth, is left dry; and this they take up

up in their hand in a kind of ball, which they chuck with adroitneſs into their mouths. Their meal ended, they lick their fingers, and wipe them on their clothes, which they waſh when dirty. Thoſe who keep negro ſlaves call them, and rub their hands in their hair; or, if any Jew happens to be preſent, they make a napkin of his garments.

Such as are tolerably at their eaſe annually kill, in May, or June, an ox, or fattened bull; the fleſh of which they preſerve, uſing it occaſionally the whole year; they cut it into ſlips of about two inches thick, and dry it in the ſun for ſome days; after which they fry it in butter and oil, and pot it; the wealthy fill up the pot with butter, that it may be the better preſerved.

The Moors are exceedingly fond of tea, alſo of ſugar; they buy but little, though they are very glad to have it given them; they have learnt the uſe of this beverage from the northern nations, among whom it is not very ancient. It ſhould ſeem they

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are fond of tea, becauſe it is heating; for it does not appear to me any way conſonant with their frugal mode of feeding, or their dry temperament. Tea naturally is more ſalutary in colder climates, where the meat is fat, and where the people habituate themſelves to the uſe of butter, cheeſe, milk, and beer: the Moors love coffee leſs than tea; however, in general, they love every thing that is given them. One of their proverbs is—"Given vinegar "is better than bought wine."

It is cuſtomary among the Moors to return home at ſun ſet; they burn lamps in their houſes, or ſmall yellow wax candles; the uſe of tallow is unknown to them, and the heat would render it too expenſive. According to Bochart, it ſhould ſeem that we have learnt to burn wax from the people of Africa, and that the French word *Bougie*, ſignifying wax candles, is derived from the town of Bugia, near Algiers.

The Moors, like all other Mahometans, reckon their time by lunar months, ſo that their lunar year is eleven days ſhorter than the

the ſolar year. Hence thirty-two years, two months, and ſome days, of the latter, conſtitute a revolution of thirty-three lunar years. In their aſtronomical calculations, however, and that they may regulate the hour of prayer according to the variation of the ſeaſons, the Moors follow the ſolar year, except that they ſtill adhere to the old ſtile; reckoning eleven days later than the Europeans.

They count the days of the week by firſt, ſecond, third, &c., from Sunday to Saturday: this mode of reckoning they have received from the Hebrews, who ſhould be more ancient than the Arabs, and who, according to the order of the creation of the world, faſt on the ſeventh day; for the word Sabbath, in Hebrew, denotes the number 7 *, a word which we have preſerved with little alteration. The Mahometans feaſt on the Friday, becauſe the Arabs,

* This is not the received etymology of the word Sabbath, which comes from שבת. He reſted. The two words, however, שבת and שבע, have a near affinity. T.

before Mahomet, had conſecrated that day to prayer, and had called it the day of the congregation. Mahomet did not think proper to change an eſtabliſhed cuſtom.

The Moors marry young: the females arrive at puberty at the age of thirteen. They are permitted four wives, and as many concubines as they are able to maintain. In their cities, as I have already obſerved, the Moors generally have but one wife, and that for reaſons of œconomy and concord. Plurality of wifes being here a luxury, each proportions the number according to his ſtate and riches.

In ſome parts no portion is given with the wife; on the contrary, the huſband pays: a cuſtom as ancient as the days of Laban, who made Jacob ſerve fourteen years before he would give him his daughter. It is, however, moſt uſual to give a portion with the bride; if ſhe be repudiated, the huſband reſtores it twofold: ſhould the huſband die, the wife recovers her portion, and the eighth part of his effects.

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The children of the wives all have equal claim to the effects of the father and mother; thoſe of the concubines only can claim half as much. There are no baſtards in theſe countries, except the children of proſtitutes, who are called *Harami*; that is to ſay, the children of ſin. The ſame expreſſion is uſed to ſignify a malignant perſon, or one addicted to play jocular tricks. The tone and the circumſtances under which it is ſpoken denote the difference.

Women not being admitted into the ſociety of men, the young people here do not marry for love: they are all matches of family convenience: from the mother only can the young man, or maiden, learn what is the character, and what the accompliſhments, of the intended helpmate. The relations having firſt agreed, they prepare the bridal feaſt, and marriages are celebrated the moſt pompouſly in the pooreſt countries. A few days before the ceremony the bridegroom is accompanied on horſeback through the town, with drums, hautboys, and friends, who occaſionally

fire their muſkets. On the nuptial day the bridegroom is again taken in proceſſion about ſun ſet, but with a greater train and more ceremony.

On this day he wears a red cap, his ſabre in a bandelier, and his face almoſt covered by a veil to hide him from evil augury. Around him are ſeveral young men, one of whom fans him with a handkerchief; he behaves like the Emperor in the midſt of his court, and on this occaſion even bears the ſame title. During the proceſſion the muſketeers quicken their diſcharges till he re-enters his own houſe.

The bride then leaves the houſe of her father in the ſame order. She is ſeated in a kind of ſquare or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, carried by a mule. This cage riſing to a pyramid is adorned by gauzes and ſtuffs of various colours. The youthful bride is eſcorted by a number of her relations and neighbours, ſome with their torches, others their muſkets, which they frequently diſcharge. Arrived at the door of her ſpouſe, the rela-

tions introduce her to her huſband, carefully obſerving that, as ſhe enters, ſhe ſhall not touch the threſhold of the door: the father, mother, and relations, retire; ſome few bridemaids only remain, holding jocular diſcourſe, and ſinging licentious verſes *.

It is cuſtomary for theſe bridemaids to receive the proofs of the conſummation of marriage, which they bear, ſinging, to the parents of the bride. Virginity is ſo eſſential a condition to the validity of marriage among theſe people, that, ſhould not the proof exiſt, the huſband has a right to ſend back his wife. It is common enough, however, for them to provide a ſubſtitute for theſe formal proofs, that they may

* Several of the cuſtoms of the Moors are peculiar to themſelves, and are no way connected with Mahometaniſm. Theſe it ſhould ſeem they have adopted from the nations that have reigned over Africa. The Romans, in their marriages, took care that the bride, at entering, ſhould not touch the threſhold of the door. When ſhe was delivered over to the bridegroom, they ſung alſo at Rome licentious ſongs, which they called Feſcinnini, ſo named from Feſcinia, the place where theſe nuptial ſongs were invented.

ſomewhat the ſooner rid themſelves of the noiſe of the fingers.

The ſame cuſtom is obſerved in Nigritia, where theſe proofs muſt be publicly expoſed on the morrow of the nuptial day. The prudence of ſuch laws in theſe hot climates, where morals are more eaſily corrupted, will, no doubt, be perceived. Virtue ſuffers leſs temptation under a more temperate ſun, where luxury only, and the prevalence of diſſipation, have rendered licentiouſneſs too general.

After the marriage, the Moors feaſt their relations and friends in the country *; the two families each kill an ox, which they have taken good care to fatten; and theſe, with a proviſion of vegetables, abundantly ſupply the banquet. Marriages are moſt uſually made after harveſt; the fertility or dearth of which, eſpecially in

* There is a proverb among the Moors, which ſays, The Chriſtians ſpend their eſtates in lawſuits, the Jews in keeping their feſtivals, and the Moors in banqueting at their marriages.

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the country, occaſions marriages to be more or leſs numerous.

The marriages of the country are held with equal feſtivity, and even greater, when the bride and bridegroom are not of the ſame Douhar, becauſe that, in this caſe, there is a double cavalcade, and a much greater train. Nor are the ſame ſcruples obſerved with reſpect to the proofs that ſhould ſatisfy the huſband, becauſe it often happens that the marriage is conſummated before the ceremony.

Independent of the families of ſoldiers deſcended from negroes, and ſtill ſo called, though they have inſenſibly loſt the colour of black, there are numerous other families of negroes, male and female, in the empire of Morocco, which have been tranſported from Nigritia through the ſouthern provinces, and deſtined to domeſtic ſlavery. The Moors, if they pleaſe, may cohabit with their female negroes; but the better claſs of people ſeldom indulge this licentiouſneſs, being unwilling that their

children ſhould be confounded with the negroes. The words negro and ſlave are ſynonimous among the Moors, and indicate dependence and a ſtate of humiliation incompatible with the ideas they have of their own freedom. Is it not aſtoniſhing that people, who have not the liberty of thinking, and who are only diſtinguiſhed from thoſe they call ſlaves by their colour, ſhould hold the idea of ſervitude in ſuch abhorrence?

It is cuſtomary among the Moors to marry their male and female negroes, and, after a certain period, to reſtore them to freedom. Thus we ſee huſbandmen are more humane toward their ſlaves than commercial nations, and that negroes are much more happy, among a people whom we call barbarians, than they are in the colonies of Europe. Without ill-treating them, the Moors employ them in guarding their flocks and herds, tilling their lands, and in domeſtic ſervices for a limited time. They depopulate one part of Africa to people another.

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Europe, on the contrary, leaves Africa deſolate, and bedews her plantations with the tears and blood of men to obtain ſugar and coffee. To ſupply imaginary wants, procure momentary pleaſures, ſhe ſacrifices whole generations, forgetful of every tie, every duty of humanity; and, if aſked the reaſon of ſuch cruelty, replies, Theſe men are black.

Wherefore ſhould prejudices, like theſe, exiſt in the mind; wherefore ſhould different ſhades of colour give riſe to opinions of greater or leſs degrees of innocence; yet ſuch opinions, ſuch prejudices, appear to be very ancient and univerſal. In the eaſt ſiniſter ideas are annexed to the colour of black; the modern Greeks indifferently uſe the word Mavros, to ſignify a black, or an unhappy, man. An Eaſt Indian, who has committed a fault, ſays, with ſhame, he is black. The Black ſea has acquired its name only becauſe of the frequent ſhipwrecks on its coaſts. The Turks attribute ill omens to the colour of black, and view it with repugnance. The Europeans mourn and array the miniſters

niſters of religion and juſtice, who are equally ſuppoſed to have renounced pleaſure, in black.

The negroes, who are conſidered as ſlaves among the Moors, even after they are reſtored to liberty, live by labour. They have no wealth to tempt the avidity of government; they intermarry with each other, are moſt ſingularly chearful and gay, and delight to laugh and talk. Their feſtivals ſeem to bear conſiderable affinity to the ſeaſons, and are paſſed by diverting themſelves in ſinging and dancing, which they perform with aſtoniſhing regularity. They have preſerved their own particular cuſtoms and ſports in Morocco; for, in Nigritia, the youth of the village, moſt admired, is he who can invent the moſt gay and groteſque dance.

The negroes throughout this empire conform to the religion of Mahomet, without ſcarcely knowing what it means; but to this they daily add the adoration of the ſun, which is the firſt object of their worſhip. The marriages of negroes in Morocco

rocco greatly reſemble thoſe of the Moors ; all the proceſſions that relate to them are accompanied by muſicians, and preceded by flags made of gauze handkerchiefs, ſuſpended at the ends of reeds.

They marry after harveſt, and when they are certain of ſubſiſtence. Such, in the firſt ages of the world, muſt have been the baſis on which all ſociety was formed. The firſt ceremony before a negro marriage is to carry corn to the mill, ſufficient to ſupply bread for a whole year ; and this they bear ſinging, accompanied by drums and caſtanets. They return two days after with the like ceremonies to receive the flour.

Their houſehold furniture conſiſts in a mat, two ſheep-ſkins, unſheared, to ſit upon, a lamp, a jar of oil, ſome earthen pots, and plates ; the whole ſcarcely worth two guineas, but borne in proceſſion like their corn. The muſic at theſe feſtivals is the heavieſt expence. The marriages of the negroes are not attended by ſo many people, but there is more real mirth ; neither

ther do the women veil themſelves like the Moors. Some of them paint their cheeks, which, though it does not add to their beauty, increaſes the vivacity of their eyes.

CHAP

CHAP. XIV.

Manner of preſerving Corn — Hiding of Money — Reſpect for Storks — Burial of the Dead — Feaſt of Saint John.

DESIROUS of preſerving their corn, the Moors, on the approach of harveſt, watch their fields and drive away the birds. From the ſame motive they do not kill birds of prey, which, by the deſtruction of other birds, guard and preſerve their harveſts. European luxury and plenty has occaſioned the very oppoſite mode to be adopted: a price is put on the deſtruction of birds of prey to preſerve partridges that ravage the fields. We dread the want of game, but not of corn.

The harveſt over, it is the cuſtom of the Moors to encloſe their corn in matamores; that

that is to ſay, in pits, where the corn is long preſerved. We learn from Bochart*, that this is a very ancient cuſtom, and muſt have been general in hot countries inhabited by wandering tribes. To preſerve the corn dry, the ſides of the pit are lined with ſtraw, in proportion as it is filled, and, when full, covered with the ſame. On this a ſtone is laid, over which a mount of earth is raiſed, in a pyramidal form, to prevent the ſoaking of the water when the rain deſcends.

Fathers, among the moſt wealthy, uſually fill a matamore at the birth of a child, and empty it on the day of marriage. I have ſeen corn ſo preſerved five-and-twenty years; its whiteneſs was loſt, its powers of production, perhaps, injured, and, had it been ſown, might have produced only ſtraw.

When convenience, or the imperial command, oblige the Moors to change

* *Geographia Sacra.*

their

their place of abode, ſhould they not be able to take their grain with them, they leave ſtones heaped over the matamores as marks, which they afterwards with difficulty find. In this caſe they uſually obſerve the ground at ſun riſing, and where they perceive a denſer vapour they find a matamore: this increaſe of the ſun's exhalation is the conſequence of the fermenting of the wheat.

Not only do the Moors depoſit their ſuperflux of corn in the ground to preſerve it, but alſo their riches, which ſuſpicion and oppreſſion induce them to bury, having neither furniture nor other means of hiding them from the knowledge of their relations. There is, perhaps, more money buried throughout the empire of Morocco than there is in circulation; much of this is loſt, becauſe, as I have elſewhere ſaid, the poſſeſſors, while living, ſhould it be diſcovered, dread the avidity of their ſucceſſors.

Among the frequent revolutions on the ſucceſſion of the ſeveral Sharifs, whoſe family

family at preſent reigns, various ſudden emigrations have taken place; during which the Moors had neither time nor means of carrying off their money, and could only gather ſtones, or make other uncertain remarks on the places where it was concealed, hoping they might recover it on their return. Theſe hopes muſt have been often deſtroyed by diſtance, or death. Thoſe among them who could write, who were by no means the majority, deſcribed with all the preciſion they were able the place of depoſit, to aid their deſcendants in its recovery.

Such ſudden removals in the encampments of theſe tribes gave riſe to a ſpecies of impoſtors, who were ſuppoſed to be ſorcerers, but who, in reality, were knaves, that, having gained information, profited there, as elſe where, by the ignorance of others. It may be preſumed the whole art of theſe people conſiſted in knowing how to read, and thus diſcovering the hiding places from the writings with which they were entruſted. Thus has an art, ſo univerſal in other countries, been confounded

founded with magic by the Moors. The Talbes of the tribes who inhabit the ſouth, where the imagination ſeems moſt addicted to the miraculous, ſtudy this art with aſſiduity.

An inferior ſpecies of ſuperſtition among the Moors is the repugnance they have to the killing of Storks; which act, they ſay, is ſinful. It may be, that the regularity with which theſe birds utter their cries, and the motion they make with their bodies, which, in ſome ſort, reſembles that of the Mahometans when at prayer, have annexed ideas of piety to their preſervation. It is alſo natural to ſuppoſe the lives of Storks are ſpared from a much more rational motive, ſince they deſtroy noxious inſects, locuſts, and ſerpents. In the firſt ſtate of ſociety, ſimple and innocent man imagined every thing which was forbidden, every thing injurious to order, decency, or the good of the whole, was ſinful. The preſent Moors blindly obey the commands of their Prince, which they regard as the laws of religion.

It is ſuppoſed that Storks frequent Barbary, in greater numbers, becauſe they are not killed there: it is alſo probable they delight in this country, on account of the many ruins, old buildings, and uninhabited lands, where they can with more facility find food and aſylum. The Storks in Morocco regularly diſappear at the cloſe of ſummer, and return toward the end of January. That the want of ſubſiſtence is the motive of this regular and annual change there can be little doubt. The countries bordering on the Niger, inundated in June, July, and Auguſt, by the overflowing of that river, which, from ſimilar cauſes, produces ſimilar effects to thoſe of the Nile*, muſt, in winter, ſwarm with inſects, on which theſe birds feed. They afterward return to the north of Africa, where the regular rains of November, December, and the remainder of the winter, fill the marſhes, and people them anew with inſects.

* The overflowing of theſe two rivers, according to La Martiniere, is occaſioned by the abundant rains which fall between the line and the tropic, from the month of June to September.

The

The Moors, like all other Mahometans, hold it a thing irreverent, and contrary to the ſpirit of religion, to bury their dead in moſques, and to prophane the temple of the Moſt High by the putrefaction of dead bodies. In the infancy of the Church the Chriſtians had the like piety, and gave example of the reſpect in which they held temples, dedicated to religious worſhip. But ill-guided devotion, mingled with ſuperſtitious vanities, and that contagious ſpirit of ſelf intereſt which pervades all human affairs, without reſpecting the altar of God, have, together, inſenſibly perverted men's ideas. The burial grounds of the Mahometans are moſt of them without the city; the Emperors have their ſepulchres diſtinct and diſtant from the moſque, in ſanctuaries, built by themſelves, or in places which they have indicated; their tombs are exceedingly ſimple: the Moors do not imitate the oſtentation of Europeans, were ſuperb monuments are raiſed rather to gratify living pride than merit dead.

All Mahometans inter the dead at the

hour ſet apart for prayer; the defunct is not kept in the houſe, except he expires after ſun ſet; but the body is tranſported to the moſque, whither it is carried by thoſe who are going to prayer; each, from a ſpirit of devotion, is deſirous to carry in his turn.

The Moors ſing at their burial ſervice; which uſage, perhaps, they have imitated after the Chriſtians of Spain, for the oriental Mahometans do not ſing. They have no particular colour appropriated to mourning; their grief for the loſs of relations is a ſenſation of the heart they do not attempt to expreſs by outward ſymbols. Women regularly go on the Friday to weep over, and pray at, the ſepulchres of the dead, whoſe memory they hold dear.

The Moors have a cuſtom of making bonfires at the feaſt of Saint John, and are leſs idle even than the Chriſtians to give any reaſon for this practice. I happened to be at Fez during this feſtival, which the Moors according to the old ſtile, observe exactly in the ſame manner as do the Europeans.

peans. I aſked a Moor, who was tolerably well informed, why they made bonfires: and he anſwered me, it was *el Anſarà*, which ſignifies in Arabic, pronouncing the laſt *a* ſhort, the companion, or defender, and ſhould denote Saint John, the precurſor and companion of Chriſt. He had no farther reaſon to give for the fires thus publicly made.

The origin of theſe fires is of very ancient and remote date. It ſeems probable that, in old times, they were ſignals, announcing to the people the ſun's elevation, the progreſs of ſummer, the maturity of their grain, or the ſeaſon in which they might bathe without injury to their health. The cuſtom, in ſome of our ſouthern provinces, of throwing water over the paſſengers, on this bonfire day, is ſome ſupport to the latter conjecture. At Sallee, where the harveſt is gathered before the feaſt of Saint John, which among the Moors correſponds with the fifth of July, I have ſeen young people collect reeds and ſtraw into a heap, ſet them on float down the river, light them in a blaze as they ſwam, and ſport

round, which, apparently to me, include the two motives that I imagine gave birth to the practice; that is, to announce the ſummer ſolſtice, and the proper ſeaſon of bathing *. The feaſt of Saint John, which has been ſince fixed at the ſame ſeaſon by the church, has inſenſibly effaced theſe original ideas among the Chriſtians; and ideas of devotion, neither well founded nor conſiſtent, have been annexed to a political regulation.

* M. Court de Gebelin ſays, theſe fires were lighted the moment the year began, and that the firſt of all years, that is to ſay, the moſt ancient of which men have any knowledge, began with the month of June: hence the name of this month, Junior. After a ſucceſſion of years, the year no longer began with the ſummer ſolſtice; the lighting of fires, however, ſtill continued from habit.

Monde primitif. Allég. Orien. prem. tab.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Military Forces of Morocco.

NO ſooner had ambition, religion, and thoſe claſhing intereſts which diſturb and deſolate the earth, ſet nation in arms againſt nation, than each muſt be ſupplied with ſoldiers for its defence: the cuſtom, indeed, which Kings now have of keeping ſtanding armies, is not very ancient.

The numerous levies made by the Kings of Morocco were, at firſt, either to protect their religion or maintain their ſovereignty over Spain; their ſoldiers were either actuated by the ſpirit of Mahometaniſm or the hope of pillage. Theſe ſovereigns had no troops properly their own, nor, perhaps, had they revenues ſufficient for their maintenance. To this want of a concerted plan between King and People we may ap-

parently attribute thoſe revolutions which formerly diſtracted the empire, multiplied its ſovereigns, and expoſed the ever-varying people to ſuch continued changes in their maſters.

After the twelfth century the States conquered by Jacob Almonſor were again divided; the people more accuſtomed to war, choſe their own chiefs, and, in the tumult of ſtruggling independence, each province, and almoſt each city, had its king. The power of ſuch trifling ſtates, ever in ſedition, was very unable to reſiſt the efforts of an ambitious conqueror.

At the beginning of the ſeventeeth century new revolutions took place, nor did the Empire of Morocco acquire its preſent form and degree of conſiſtency till under the government of Muley Arſhid and Muley Iſhmael. Theſe Princes choſe for their aſſociates, and the participators of their favours, ſome determined mountaineers, and negroes brought from the South. With theſe they preſently ſubjugated a multitude of thoſe petty kings, without power, without

without ſoldiers, conſequently without defence, that then exiſted throughout Barbary.

After Muley Iſhmael had well eſtabliſhed his authority, he obliged the provinces to ſupply him with troops, by whoſe aid he might make this authority reſpected. But theſe paſtoral ſoldiers, who became ſoldiers only from fear, and whom intereſt or deſpair might occaſion to revolt, inſpired but little confidence in a prince ſo ambitious.

Deſirous of acquiring a military eſtabliſhment, whoſe intereſt it ſhould be to increaſe his own perſonal glory, he tranſported negroe families from the South, of whom his legions might be formed, and by whom increaſed. Inſtructed in the military art during a tolerably long reign, theſe negroes ſucceſsfully aided in eſtabliſhing and confirming deſpotiſm. At the death of Muley Iſhmael, near a hundred thouſand negroes had ſerved him as ſoldiers.

The feebleneſs of his ſucceſſors augmented the power and arrogance of this military body,

body, that now was maſter of the throne and empire; it was become equally odious to the Sovereign and the ſubject. After finding himſelf the victim of their inconſtancy and avarice, Muley Abdallah felt the neceſſity of humbling theſe turbulent troops. He ſowed diſſention between the negroes and the principal tribes of the Moors, ſo that the former were at length ſacrificed to the hatred and vengeance of the provinces, and to the political repoſe and barbarity of the deſpot.

As a balance to the power of thoſe negroes who ſurvived theſe diviſions, this Prince formed bodies of troops from the mountaineers, and other diſtant caſts, who became ſo many hoſtages for the fidelity of their tribes. Independent of the legions in actual ſervice, each province, when needful, was obliged to furniſh and maintain its contingent of armed troops.

By this prudent plan the deſpot always had a ſufficient body of forces, at his command, to quell any provincial inſurrections. In theſe national levies he alſo found a neceſſary

ceſſary ſupport againſt the enterprizes of the negroes, and his troops divided by prejudices concerning their colour, their origin, religion, for ſuch prejudices exiſt the moſt in the moſt ignorant, were too much diſunited among themſelves to inſpire him with fear.

Such then was, and ſuch ſtill is, the military eſtabliſhment of the Empire of Morocco, and which was leſs the effect of a political and well-combined plan, than the reſult of a ſucceſſion of accidents, that, in all kingdoms; after having deſtroyed, again inſenſibly reſtores order; like, as in nature, we ſee a calm ſucceed to the ſhock of elements, threatening total deſolation.

Change of times and change of circumſtances have given birth to new reforms. About ten years ago fifty thouſand negroes were kept in pay in Morocco. The reigning Emperor perceiving that the maintenance of theſe troops was become burdenſome, at a time when the public diſtreſs required, or enforced, public œconomy, deter-

determined, in order to prevent every diſagreeable conſequence, to diſarm and diſband the negroes, and alſo to confine them in the oppoſite extremities of his empire. Of the fifty thouſand he preſerved only ſome five or ſix as his body guard, ſelecting thoſe in whoſe commanders he had the greateſt confidence. He keeps near his perſon a ſtill greater number of truſty troops; but I doubt whether the total amount to more than between fifteen and eighteen thouſand men in conſtant pay; a part of whom are always ſent into the diſtant provinces, to protect the tax-gatherers.

Yet muſt not the military power of the Empire of Morocco be eſtimated at twenty thouſand men. Although their employment is that of agriculture, moſt of the Moors are ſoldiers, or, in caſe of need, can ſoon ſo become; not any of them but keep a horſe, a ſabre, and a muſket, and who are not ready to march at the firſt command of the Monarch.

When

When the Emperor is in want of troops, each province, on his requiſition, ſupplies and maintains a number of men proportionate to its population and its wealth; but theſe extraordinary levies are only kept in ſervice when the tillage of their lands does not require their preſence; that is to ſay, between ſeed time and harveſt, and after harveſt till it is again neceſſary to prepare their lands. The Emperor beſtows no other gratifications on theſe provincial troops than ſuch as he himſelf pleaſes, and which are never of any great value.

It muſt be remembered that this empire, having nothing to fear from its neighbours, ſtands leſs in need of the ſupport of numerous armies. A detachment of four or ſix thouſand men, who march and accompany the deſpot, is ſufficient to maintain order throughout his provinces, and to inſpire the States to the weſt of his Empire with dread, where nature has done nothing in defence of the people, and where agriculture and the ſpirit of trade have

have encouraged the love of public tranquillity.

When thoſe tribes that inhabit the neighbourhood of the mountains give tokens of inſurrection, ſome ten or twelve thouſand additional troops, of the provincial levies, are ſufficient to reduce them to obedience. Theſe expeditions generally conſiſt in ravaging the country, and in the deſtruction of thoſe wretches who have neither money to purchaſe remiſſion nor arms for ſelf-defence. Such incurſions are the more frequent in the Empire of Morocco becauſe that fear, there, continually keeps the minds of men in fermentation; it is a ſmothered fire, the embers of which occaſionally glow, but are unable to produce a flame. The people are too much debaſed; there is too little concord among the different tribes, which are always too much divided among themſelves to produce any great effects.

As the military forces of ſtates are in proportion to their population, and their progreſs in the arts, I preſume, theſe

theſe circumſtances taken into the eſtimate, there are more ſoldiers in the Empire of Morocco than under the Princes of Europe, if we except thoſe nations where the people are entirely educated in the uſe of arms, and where each man is a ſoldier. The population of this empire has but little relation to its extent, ſince it appears that two thirds of it lie uncultivated and uninhabited. I doubt whether this population exceeds ſix millions, and do not ſuppoſe it can be leſs than five.

Notwithſtanding that theſe people are naturally addicted to the ſhepherd's and the farmer's life, yet, having the continual revolutions which have exiſted among their anceſtors before their eyes, military ideas are kept up in their imaginations, and even give birth to the chief of their amuſements. I ſuppoſe the Emperor of Morocco might, with great eaſe, raiſe from two to three hundred thouſand men, did he find ſo great a force neceſſary. True it is that armies thus numerous would ſoon experience want of ſubſiſtence in a country laid waſte by its own

poverty, that they muſt preſently be diſperſed, and for this ſole reaſon annihilated.

It would likewiſe ſcarcely be poſſible to put ſo large a body in motion, and to render it actually ſerviceable in an open country, where there are no places of arms or fortreſſes to form magazines, protect a retreat, or rally a defeated army.

It may alſo reaſonably be ſuppoſed that this empire will never have need to make ſuch efforts, ſo long as it ſhall have nothing to fear from its neighbours. This time, however, will come, ſhould the regency of Algiers change its principles and conſtitution, and, buſied with projects of ambition, endeavour to extend its empire. This would apparently be difficult to execute, though ſomewhat like this is to be feared, from the diſlike theſe two States have to each other *. If the government

* The regency of Algiers is a military power, compoſed of Turks, whom the Moors regard as uſurpers; for which reaſon there is a continual jealouſy between this regency and the court of Morocco.

of

of Algiers continues prudent, it will ſcarcely attempt to extend its domains; it is quite ſufficient that it has at preſent a multitude of Mooriſh tribes under its yoke, which they ſupport with repugnance. This regency would likewiſe no longer preſerve its ariſtocracy and its ſtrength, were it to extend itſelf by conqueſt.

Were the Moors capable of union, and ſuſceptible of courage, it would, perhaps, be much more eaſy for the Sharifs of Morocco to exterminate the power of Algiers, than for the Algerines to make conqueſts in Morocco. According to preſent appearances, no change, however, can with probability be preſaged; but, ſhould the Turks receive any ſevere checks in Europe, it may well be feared that the regencies of Barbary would anew become the aſylum of the Ottoman ſoldiery and marine, which might expoſe the ſhores of the Mediterranean to future revolution.

The troops kept in pay by the Emperor of Morocco, that may be looked upon

as his body guard, and that at preſent do not exceed eighteen thouſand men, have various diviſions; they are diſtinguiſhed by their tribes, the Negroes, the Ludaya, the Gayoran, and others; each have their colours, and their ſignal of rallying. Theſe diviſions are compoſed of a number of companies, each conſiſting of a hundred men; every company has its chief, or captain, whom they call the chief of a hundred; under him are two officers, who command fifty each; and ten other more inferior officers, who have the command of ten men each. All that theſe troops know of military diſcipline is ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors; they are not ſubject to any preciſion in their exerciſe or manœuvres.

The embodied troops that form the Emperor's guard are, in Morocco, known by the title of Al Boccari, or Sidi Boccari, Muley Iſhmael having put himſelf under the auſpices of this commentator of the Koran, and conſecrated his firſt legions in the oath he adminiſtered to them.

His book, depoſited under a tent in the centre of the army, is the ſignal for rallying the troops, and a ſort of pledge for their fidelity. Thus, likewiſe, had the Carthaginians a ſacred tabernacle, beſide the tent of the general, to which the whole army directed its devotion.

The Emperor of Morocco has but few infantry in his ſervice; the chief force of his armies conſiſts in his cavalry; but that cavalry, always acting in diſorder, would be very little able to reſiſt the ſhock of the European horſe. There is no kind of uniformity either among the men or horſes; the reigning Emperor ſeemed inclined to introduce ſome diſtinction of regimental dreſs, but this novelty never became prevalent.

The Moors are good horſemen; they can endure hunger, thirſt, fatigue, and every inconvenience; they have the neceſſary qualities to form good ſoldiers, but they are not ſo formed.

Armies among the Moors are uſually drawn up in a creſcent, the ſtrength of which is in the centre: here alſo the artillery is placed; their whole art of attack conſiſts in acting with the detachments at the two extremities, ſo as to ſurround the enemy, put him between two fires, and at the ſame time expoſe him to be cannonaded by the artillery.

When an army is in motion little care is taken of a ſupply of proviſions; it uſually encamps near ſprings, or a river, and the provinces in the neighbourhood of the camp are commanded to fix their markets in its environs, that each, paying for what he wants, may obtain food and neceſſaries; ſhould there be a ſcarcity in ſuch provinces, the enterprize muſt be abandoned; in dry ſeaſons the Emperor has often been obliged to deſiſt from an expedition for want of paſturage, or of water, for the horſe.

All the arms neceſſary for war are not fabricated in the Empire of Morocco: the reigning Emperor, deſirous of eſtabliſhing

founderies for artillery, about fifteen years ago, ſent for the neceſſary workmen to Conſtantinople; but this project was abandoned, equally on account of the expence and becauſe he feared leſt his ſubjects might turn this art to the deſtruction of his own power. He contented himſelf with forming a manufactory for bombs at Tetuan; that, in the fabrication of theſe, he might melt down a number of waſte cannon, of which he could make no other uſe.

During the laſt fifteen or twenty years this Emperor has procured more than ſixty mortars of various dimenſions, and above two hundred pieces of artillery, which he has received as preſents from foreign courts, or has purchaſed by his agents. He has likewiſe exerciſed ſome pupils in the art of gunnery, and the firing of bombs; but pupils never become maſters when they do nothing but what they are bidden, and where the mind is not ſuſceptible of thoſe principles by which art is brought to perfection.

The muſkets neceſſary for defence are forged in the Empire of Morocco, and for this purpoſe they uſe the iron of Biſcay, which is more eaſily worked and poliſhed than that of the north. Theſe muſkets are made too heavy, are about ſix feet and a half long, and are too much loaded with iron; they fatigue the ſoldier, and the muzzles drop when they fire; their locks are ſafe and ſolid, but ſnap hard, and are conſequently ſlow.

The ſabres uſed by the Moors are alſo manufactured in Morocco, and from the iron of Biſcay. There, as every where elſe, certain waters are found, which temper ſteel with greater perfection.

Gunpowder is likewiſe made in this empire, but the ſulpher which is uſed is brought from Europe. Not having acquired ſufficient art in purifying their powder, it is ſo glutinous that, on the fourth or fifth diſcharge, the priming will not take fire, or, at leaſt, retards the exploſion; the bad quality of the powder likewiſe

likewiſe renders it ſuſceptible of humidity, and prevents its being long preſerved.

CHAP. XVI.

Maritime Strength of the Empire of Morocco.

THE world is no better informed concerning the naval than the military power of Morocco, before and after the tenth century. We only know that, in the time of Jacob Almonſor, and afterward, under ſome of his ſucceſſors, various conſiderable armaments were formed to tranſport the troops of Morocco into Spain, and profit by the diviſions which then diſtracted that country; but we are unacquainted with theſe armaments in the detail. It ſhould ſeem that the foreſts, which then remained on the northern part of the coaſt, were exceedingly uſeful for their ſhipbuilding; but, as the marine, after the maritime efforts which had exhauſted Rome and Carthage, was only at this time reviving, we cannot

cannot have any very high ideas of its ſtrength in thoſe countries.

Probably, after the expulſion of the Moors from Spain, and thoſe revolutions which internally diſtracted the empire of Morocco, all naval exertions, were long renounced. The coaſts of Barbary, waſhed by the Mediterranean and the Weſtern Ocean, only gave harbour to ſome pirates; and the progreſs of theſe, it is preſumed, could not be very great, the Portugueſe having conquered Ceuta, Arzilla and Tangiers. Navigation began to be encouraged under the reign of Muley Iſhmael, when theſe towns had been abandoned, and commerce became more generally promoted throughout Europe.

The river of Sallee, which brought veſſels to the towns of Sallee and Rabat, was at that time more navigable than it is at preſent, and admitted veſſels of great burden, and heavily built. Sallee was a kind of republic, feudatory to Muley Iſhmael, the people of which addicted themſelves to trade and piracy. The Sallee rovers became

came formidable to the merchants of Europe, and their very name ſtill preſerves ſome impreſſion of the fears they at that time inſpired, but which now daily weaken.

Muley Iſhmael received ten per cent. on each prize from the Corſairs of this regency, and alſo ten ſlaves from every hundred. The gallies that cruiſed in the ſtraits wholly appertained to the Emperor. An old Moor, whom I knew, and who was a ſhip-boy on board theſe gallies, has aſſured me, they carried no cannon, that they were ballaſted with flints gathered on the ſea ſide, or the banks of the river, which was their whole ammunition; that, rowing along-ſide merchant veſſels, which at that time were themſelves ill armed, they ſhowered ſuch a quantity of theſe ſtones, on board, that the ſailors were obliged to run, and they took poſſeſſion of the ſhip.

Hiſtory informs us that the cuſtom of ſlinging ſtones is moſt ancient among the Moors, as it alſo was among the inhabi-

tants

tants of the Balearic iſlands, now called Majorca and Minorca; for, in the wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Moors were oppoſed to theſe people, whom they fought at their own weapons.

Muley Iſhmael maintained ſlaves from oſtentation, employed them in the building of his palaces, and ſacrificed them to his caprice and ferocity. Under the reign of Muley Abdallah, Sallee and Rabat preſerved their municipal government; and piracy, ſubject to ſimilar taxation, had ſimilar ſucceſs, except that this Prince reſerved the ſlaves to himſelf, paying the pirate for them at the rate of fifty piaſters per head. Equally cruel with his father, Muley Abdallah put many of them to death, in his ſanguinary madneſs, but he allowed them to be ranſomed.

The reigning Emperor, who has not inherited the ferocity of his forefathers, having deprived the regency of Sallee of its riches, privileges, and independence, commanded the Corſairs to act for his

profit;

profit; and, conſidering the redemption of ſlaves as a ſource of revenue, he has treated them with more humanity.

This change, in the manner of government, and in the adminiſtration of the town of Sallee, has been favourable to the commercial part of Europe. The courage of the Sallee rovers, no longer excited by intereſt, which is the moſt powerful of motives for the undertaking of dangerous enterprizes, declines; deprived of the profits of their piracies, they are no longer eager in ſearch of perils.

In the beginning of his reign the Emperor had veſſels built at Sallee, which would carry ſix-and-twenty, and even ſix-and-thirty guns; for the earthquake, ſo deſtructive to Liſbon, which happened on the firſt of November, 1755, increaſed the depth of water at the mouth of the river to near thirty feet at flood time. The ſands, however, annually accumulate, and the burden of veſſels is obliged to be proportioned to the depth of water at the bar.

Theſe

Theſe large veſſels inſpired conſiderable fear, but did little damage; heavily and diſproportionately built, they were bad ſailers, and periſhed, in time, through the inexperience of their captains. Piracy at this time had but little ſucceſs; and the leſs becauſe that France and Spain were then at war with England, and merchant ſhips either durſt not keep the ſeas or were obliged to be ſtrong enough to ſuſtain an action. The peace of 1763 once more occaſioned the people of Sallee to make new efforts; they took ſome Provençal ſhips in the Mediterranean, the crews of which, imagining they were chaced by Algerine corſairs, durſt not make any defence.

They had the like ſucceſs in the Weſtern Ocean, and in two years took more than fifteen veſſels, ten of which were French.

One Captain Motard is, perhaps, the only man among them who made any reſiſtance. The memory of the action he ſuſtained merits to be preſerved to his ho-

nour;

nour; his whole ſtrength conſiſted but of four cannon, and twenty-four men, ſome of whom were paſſengers; yet did he valorouſly defend himſelf within piſtol ſhot againſt Reys Salah, a reputed deſperado, and who commanded a xebeck of twenty-four guns and a hundred-and-thirty men. Motard ſtruck juſt as his veſſel was ſinking, having loſt a part of his men, and killed or diſabled more than forty of the crew of the corſair.

When Sidy Mahomet had made peace with the principal nations of Europe, he collected all his veſſels into a ſquadron, that he might maintain his marine force, and add to its reſpectability.

Five of theſe his frigates, or xebecks, as they were returning from Tunis in September, 1773, were encountered off Cape Spartel by the Chevalier Acton *, at that

* The ſame gentleman who, ſometime afterward, entered into the ſervice of the court of Naples, to whom the King has ſince confided the adminiſtration of the marine, and alſo the war department —— The Chevalier Acton is an Engliſhman, and at preſent well known in Europe.

time

time the commander of a ſmall Tuſcan frigate. After a few broadſides he diſordered and diſperſed four of them. Reys Laſchmi Miſteri, of Rabat, who led the van, had the courage ſingly to engage the Chevalier, as well to relieve his aſſociates as to give them time to rally, and return to the charge; but the valorous men of Sallee were not of the ſame opinion; they made for the Port of Laracha, and two of the four, in their great haſte, were ſtranded. Reys Laſchmi Miſteri was forced, after a ſhort engagement, to ſtrike, and was brought into Leghorn.

On this day the Chevalier Acton, with a ſmall Tuſcan frigate, deſtroyed a part of the maritime force of Morocco: the fleets of the great powers of Europe never had a ſimilar victory. The whole naval force of Sidy Mahomet * conſiſts in little more

* All the Emperors have the title of Muley, which, in Arabic, ſignifies Lord and Maſter: the reigning Emperor, reſpecting the name of the Prophet, after whom he is called, has aſſumed the epithet Sidy, which has the ſame ſignification as Muley, but is more reſpectful.

than

than ſix or eight frigates of two hundred tons burthen, with port holes for from fourteen to eighteen ſix-pounders, and, perhaps, a dozen gallies. He has a number of ſailors regiſtered, who receive a ſmall pay, but which is not fixed; ſo that his ſubjects are little inclined to a ſeafaring life, and become ſailors with reluctance.

The choice of commanders is leſs influenced by the opinion entertained of their capacity than that of their known wealth; the Emperor ſeldom will truſt his ſhips to any but rich people, who are able to anſwer for accidents: this neceſſarily occaſions the commanders to ſail late, and return ſoon, taking care to avoid all perils which may endanger their fortune and peace of mind.

Although the naval ſtrength of the Emperor of Morocco is not very conſiderable, the ſituation of his ſtates will always be an advantage: he poſſeſſes Tangiers and Tetuan at the different mouths of the ſtrait, through which veſſels from all parts of the globe, ſailing for the Mediteranean, muſt

muſt paſs; and his row gallies, in ſo narrow a paſſage, are always capable of calculating their diſtances, and aſcertaining a ſafe retreat.

CHAP. XVII.

Revenues of the Emperor of Morocco.

ABSOLUTE maſter of every thing contained within his dominions, it may ſeem uſeleſs, or ſuperfluous, to form any eſtimate of the revenues of the Emperor of Morocco, ſince they depend ſo entirely on his will. To render his yoke more light, however, and to encourage his ſlaves in their labours, he nouriſhes among them ideas of property: the Deſpot contents himſelf with thoſe impoſitions preſcribed by the Koran, ſave and except ſuch innovations as have been introduced by time and cuſtom, and which are held in reſpect by a people ſo ſubmiſſive.

The taxes which the Koran allows, and which the Arab Monarchs have ever exacted

acted from their huſbandmen and ſhepherd ſubjects, conſiſt in tenths, on all the productions of their lands and herds. This impoſt, which is the moſt ancient, the moſt natural, and the leaſt deſtructive of all tributes paid by the cultivator, was ſufficient in thoſe ages, when the Sovereign kept no ſtanding armies, and when the defence of property, the intereſt of religion, or rather the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, and the thirſt of plunder, made ſoldiers flock to his ſtandards.

Taxation remained the ſame when the various States of Morocco erected themſelves into monarchies; the wants of theſe petty ſovereigns were not ſufficiently exigent, nor had they ſufficient ſtrength, to enforce the exaction of heavier contributions. In theſe diſtant times the revenues of the kings of Morocco could not have been very conſiderable; the burden lay light upon the people, and they were ſtill better able to bear it, becauſe they had few wants, and were in thoſe days more wealthy.

It alſo appears probable that interior commerce, which originates in barter and the exchange of the reſpective products, and which moſt produces intercourſe between nations, was in theſe times more active than it is at preſent, and that the communication was much greater, and more continual, between the nations who inhabit the interior parts of Africa, and thoſe on the coaſts of Barbary. The hiſtories, the narratives, the tales which the old people of the country repeat, and traditionally tranſmit to their children, and with which they amuſe their fanciful avidity, all mention the gold duſt which the Moors received from Tombut, and other ſouthern countries in the neighbourhood of the Niger. For this they only gave the productions of their lands, which they could obtain by labour, and which is ever a true ſource of wealth. Wars, revolutions, their arbitrary government, the European ſettlements on the African ſhores, and other cauſes, may, perhaps, have forced trade into another channel, and the provinces of Morocco may no longer have the ſame reſources.

It

It cannot, at firſt view, be doubted but that this trade in gold duſt was formerly a part of the merchandize of interior Africa, before the coaſt had any immediate intercourſe or commerce with Europe, when we conſider the immenſe riches accumulated at Carthage, and the prodigious efforts that republic made, during wars that continued more than half a century.

After revolutions ſo great, the different tribes of the Moors muſt have kept theſe communications open, but with leſs vigour and ſucceſs, the means of ſuch communications having continued in a fluctuating ſtate till the cloſe of the fifteenth century. It is ſufficiently apparent that, not before this period, as I have already obſerved, did the treaſures of Africa find a new and ſwifter vent, in conſequence of the progreſs of navigation.

Yet muſt we be aſtoniſhed when we remember the riches that were collected and heaped together among the mountains of Morocco, at thoſe which were ſeized by Muley Arſhid, in the firſt acts of his ferocity;

city; and afterward at the quantity of gold ducats, in the time of Muley Iſhmael, which ſome wealthy families had preſerved, and the remains of which they have concealed from the avidity of his ſucceſſors.

The Empire was, beyond contradiction, more rich in theſe ancient times, becauſe that property was better ſecured, and induſtry had more freedom of exertion, whence the people were univerſally more at their eaſe. Muley Iſhmael himſelf, during a long reign, maintained numerous forces, was ever in motion, and erected many buildings, without augmenting the former taxes, or eſtabliſhing new; and, after reigning fifty-four years in a ſtate of continual agitation, he left behind him near a hundred millions of livres, or full four millions ſterling.

The Jews, who were the collectors of taxes over the whole coaſt, that the Emperor might continue them in their office, annually preſented him with a ſaddle, the trees of which were covered with plates of gold

gold, and the buckles, the ſtirrups, and the bridle furniture, were of the ſame metal. If we ſuppoſe the whole worth of this preſent to be ſome thirty or forty marks of gold, it ſtill would only amount to five-and-twenty or thirty thouſand livres, or from a thouſand to twelve hundred pounds. The Jews, who were then ten times as numerous as they are at preſent, paid, as a tax upon the whole people, a hen and twelve chickens in gold, artfully wrought, the feathers in flakes, and ſhaded in coloured maſtic.

This was leſs a burdenſome impoſition than an offering of homage from the Jewiſh nation to the Sovereign; and this art itſelf, ſo much vaunted, and now ſo utterly unknown, is a proof that the country was more wealthy, and that the induſtry and invention of its workmen were thereby incited. All circumſtances demonſtrate that gold was plentiful in Morocco a hundred years ago, while now a debtor, who is making a payment of a thouſand crowns, often ſhall not poſſeſs, among his money, a ſingle ducat in gold.

A circumſtance ſtill more fortunate, at that time, for the people was that proviſions were at a very low price. Corn was ſold for leſs than five ſhillings the *Setier* of Paris *; the farmers who brought it into their cities, having collected money from all who wiſhed to buy, abandoned the remainder to the firſt comer. In a country where there are no wants, it cannot be affirmed there are any poor. A country Moor, already ſupplied with every neceſſary, except ſhoes, and ſope to waſh his haick, previous to ſome feſtival, took to market, perhaps, ſix quintals of wheat on his camel, and returned ſatisfied if he could only bring back two pair of ſhoes, or ſlippers, one for his wife, and another for himſelf, and two pounds of ſope to waſh their garments; all of which would ſcarcely coſt him ſix and ſix pence, but which were quite ſufficient to make him fine enough to go to ſome wedding.

* The weight of which I eſtimate to be about two quintals and a half.

I ſhall

I ſhall not here enquire into all the variations to which, during a century, the revenues of the empire have been ſubject, nor ſhall I diſcuſs the cauſes of theſe variations; ſuffice it in general to obſerve, that, in proportion as the reſources of the State became inſufficient, the Monarchs have taken ſeveral violent methods of ſupplying deficiencies; that theſe have inſenſibly drained all the channels of commerce, have relaxed every ſpring of induſtry, and have contributed to augment the poverty and oppreſſion of the people. I ſhall confine myſelf to give a brief account of the revenues of the preſent Emperor of Morocco, and of the manner in which they are collected.

Theſe revenues I ſhall diſtinguiſh into ancient and modern; the ancient conſiſt in the tenths levied on the productions of the lands, flocks, and herds, the capitation tax of the Jews, the profits of coining, arbitrary taxes and impoſitions, and, finally, the duties laid on the importation of merchandize.

The tithes levied on the productions of lands, flocks, and herds, is a native right, the leſs burdenſome among the Moors becauſe that the huſbandman pays in kind, and not according to any variable eſtimate. He who grows ten buſhels of corn pays one without any retroſpect or enquiry concerning a more abundant harveſt, which, among barbarous ſtates, preſents an example of juſtice well worthy the imitation of the moſt civilized.

The facility of collecting this tithe is increaſed, becauſe that the country Moors, being all united in a body in the centre of their grounds, are tolerably exact in watching each other, and preventing any fraud being committed on the rights of the Emperor*. As this tithe is paid in kind, from every ſort of product, corn, cattle, wool, and others, the Monarch has ma-

* The collecting of a like tithe would be equally and ſtill more eaſy in Europe, becauſe that it might be farmed to the communities themſelves, as has been moſt judiciouſly obſerved by *M. de Vauban* in his *Project de la Dixme Royale*, which is not the leſs precious for being old.

gazines

gazines in the great provincial towns, wherein to ſtore theſe revenues, which he brings to market, having firſt deducted a ſufficient quantity for the maintenance of his palaces, and of his ſoldiers and ſailors, among whom he often diſtributes wheat and barley.

The profits ariſing from coining are very moderate, for the circulation of money throughout this empire is exceedingly ſmall. In revenge the Emperor ſo debaſes the coin by alloy, that the Spaniſh piaſter, which, according to the aſſay of Paris, is worth about five livres ſeven ſous, or four ſhillings and ſeven-pence halfpenny, exchanged for the money of Morocco, yields the Emperor about ſeven livres ten ſous, or ſix ſhillings and three pence; whence it reſults that, in Morocco, money muſt be imported, and never exported. The tax that the Jews pay, as a tribute, or a capitation tax, is an ancient impoſt, which, as I have already obſerved, was very moderate. The Jews of the preſent day pay ten fold as much as their fathers in the laſt century, and their population, perhaps, is

alſo

alſo ten fold decreaſed, inſomuch that the impoſitions upon this nation, in the courſe of a century, have increaſed in the ratio of a hundred to one.

The arbitrary taxes, or caſual impoſitions levied on provinces and wealthy individuals, form an indeterminate revenue, incapable of fixed valuation, as they depend wholly on the occaſion and temporary circumſtances. Motives for levying theſe taxes inceſſantly preſent themſelves, when the rapacious will of the Prince ſhall happen to equal his power. Let it be here remarked, that, in deſpotic States, theſe deſtructive means of raiſing wealth are like water ſprings and mines, they are exhauſted by too frequent uſe.

The duties on exports and imports of foreign merchandize form an ancient branch of the revenue, levied by all the Emperors of Morocco. However heavy theſe duties may be on importation, having once paid them, the goods and effects may be tranſported through all parts of the empire,

empire, without being liable to pay any new tax.

The duty of importation in the States of Morocco is paid in kind, which ſhould ſeem to be an advantage to the merchant; but, it will eaſily be perceived, it is, therefore, the more advantageous to the Prince, who retails the effects he thus acquires with profit.

The cuſtom-houſe duties formerly were but trifling throughout the empire, becauſe that maritime commerce had not then extended itſelf as at preſent. The frequent revolutions, likewiſe, in the country rendered the condition of the merchant fluctuating and dangerous, and baniſhed commerce from the coaſts of Barbary. The revenue they produced has never been conſiderable, except in the beginning of the reign of Sidy Mahomet; commerce was at that time capable of increaſe throughout his ſtates; but he, ſince, ever forming his reſolutions on momentary convenience, has ſucceſſively augmented the duties. Whence it has happened here, as every

where elſe, in proportion as the impoſts are increaſed, commerce has neceſſarily diminiſhed. This Monarch has, perhaps, more effectually drained his country than a conqueror would an invaded kingdom, which it was his intent to abandon.

Either the deſire or the neceſſity of adding to the revenues of his eſtates has induced the reigning Emperor to impoſe new taxes, which have raiſed ſome commotions among his ſubjects. A poor nation, tenacious of its former cuſtoms, confined in its objects of induſtry, and its means of barter, is impatient under new impoſitions. Theſe recent taxes are laid on ſnuff, which is farmed by monopolizers, to whom the Emperor has granted an excluſive privilege; on commodities per load, as they enter and go out of towns, or paſs ferries; on woollen ſtuffs, which muſt be ſtamped before they are brought to market; and, alſo, on all the trinkets made by goldſmiths. The governors of the cities are to collect theſe taxes at a fixed ſum, by which they very ſeldom are gainers. Theſe new impoſts, which would be

be leſs burdenſome in countries where the ſubjects might repay themſelves by the encouragement given to their induſtry, having been conſidered among the Moors as innovations, contrary to the ſpirit of the Koran, almoſt occaſioned an inſurrection at Mequinez in 1778; it was chiefly quelled through the reſolution of the Chiefs, and the total want of energy among the people.

In the preſent exhauſted ſtate of the Empire of Morocco, theſe taxes all united are ſcarcely ſufficient for its own ſupport; and ſo little can œconomy ſet apart for the treaſury of the Emperor, which formerly was very conſiderable, that, drained by a concatenation of circumſtances, it was reduced in 1782 to about two millions of ducats, which may amount to twelve or thirteen millions of livres, or five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling*. Such is the ſtate of an empire that nature has en-

* The ducat of Morocco, as paid in currency, is eſtimated at ſix livres, thirteen ſous, four deniers of France.

riched

riched with her gifts, and which, after having been laid deſolate by the conflicting paſſions of man, is at preſent ſcarcely ſufficient to ſupply his wants.

In the ſecond volume I ſhall give a brief hiſtory of the ſovereigns who have governed this empire, and of the revolutions which have expoſed it to ſo many ravages and oppreſſions; the traces of which, far from being effaced, ſeem to revive with each reviving generation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.*

Additional miſcellaneous remarks concerning the manners of the Moors, and characteriſtic anecdotes of the Emperors, Muley Iſhmael, and his ſucceſſor, Muley Daiby.

THE Moors are excellent horſemen; they ride ſhort like the ancient Parthians and the modern huſſars. Their ſaddles have peaks before and behind; their ſtirrups are placed far back. They level and fire on full ſpeed, hold the bridle between their teeth, and turn their horſes as they wiſh, by the preſſure of their knees and

* This chapter is not written by M. Chenier, but added, from authentic writers, by the tranſlator. Some account of thoſe writers, and the reaſons for inſerting this chapter, are given in the preface. T.

the equipoize of their bodies. It is an opinion among them that the Chriſtians have no horſes, in which they are confirmed by the eagerneſs of Europeans to purchaſe and export the horſes of Barbary. According to Braithwaite, to ride on a mare is a token of poverty and meanneſs *. This people ſeem as careful of their horſes as they are negligent of themſelves. Such horſes as have been to Mecca are held to be Saints; they work no more, nor would the Emperor himſelf dare to mount them. Their necks are adorned by roſaries and relics like the tombs of their Saints. The ſtables of theſe holy horſes are ſanctuaries for criminals. Muley Iſhmael had a quadruped Saint of this ſpecies, which he uſed to viſit occaſionally, and whoſe feet and tail he would in reverence kiſs. After drinking himſelf, and giving drink to his

* May not this account for the miſtake, if it be one, of M. Chenier, noticed at page 168? It ſeems probable the Moors ride mares, either, becauſe they can ſell their horſes to advantage, or that, the horſes are ſeized by their oppreſſive governors for their own uſe, and to mount the troops each governor maintains. T.

ſaint,

Saint, he would ſometimes permit his favourites to drink out of the ſame bowl.

Excluſive of their horſes, the Moors hold various other animals in reſpect. Their dogs are numerous, almoſt to incredibility, for they think it ſinful to deſtroy them. Their barking is ſo inceſſant that a ſtranger, unaccuſtomed to this noiſe, is incapable of ſleeping. M. Saint Olon ſays, the ſtorks at Alcaſſar were more numerous than the inhabitants; and the reaſon he gives for the averſion the Moors have to killing of them is, that, they believe God, at the interceſſion of Mahomet, metamorphoſed a troop of Arabs, who robbed the pilgrims that were journeying to Mecca, into Storks.

Muley Iſhmael had two ſnow-white dromedaries that were daily waſhed with ſoap. He likewiſe kept forty cats, which he diſtinguiſhed each by its name, and fed plentifully himſelf. One day, making a parade of his juſtice, being told that one of his cats had eaten a rabbit, he was determined to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on this

wicked cat. Accordingly he commanded an executioner to ſeize the cat, drag her through the ſtreets of Mequinez, with a cord round her neck, whip her ſeverely, and cry aloud—"Thus does my maſter treat ſcoundrel cats!" After this the criminal was to be beheaded; all which was punctually executed.

One of this Emperor's pleaſures was to ſee dogs, wolves, and lions, fight; and, when any one of them was in danger of being devoured by the other, he would command his ſlaves to ſnatch the victim from the jaws of the lions, which ſervice ſeldom was performed without the loſs of a limb. He would himſelf encounter lions, taking care firſt to ſhoot them, and afterward, entering their park with his attendants, would complete his eaſy victory with his ſpear. Chriſtian captives, by his orders, were often obliged to combat lions, for the diverſion of his wives. One of theſe captives, being commanded to fight a lion, had the preſence of mind to retire, ſabre in hand, toward a ditch full of water, into which, pretending his foot ſlipped, he fell,

fell, knowing the lion would not follow him thither. His ſtratagem, by good fortune, pleaſed the tyrant, and the ſlave eſcaped.

In their public proceſſions, when attending their Baſhaws, the Moors are tumultuous, but dextrous. They ſingle out each other to tilt, and will put aſide the thruſt of a ſpear, though made at their backs; will dart their lances into the air, and catch them again, their horſes all the while on full ſpeed. They are exceedingly fond of the exploſion of gunpowder. To honour Mr. Ruſſel, the Engliſh ambaſſador, the Baſhaw gave them a barrel, which they fired as faſt as they could; loading, not with cartridges, but, with looſe powder. M. St. Olon, the French ambaſſador, relates that Muley Iſhmael commanded him to be ſeated on the top of a high wall, without chair, covering, or carpet, there to be a ſpectator of a review of ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot. Their manœuvres were all diſorderly, and their onſets began by cries and ſhouts; they afterward all filed off beſide the wall, and,

that they might do honour to M. St. Olon, each man diſcharged his firelock in his face; this being the mode in which they ſhew reſpect to their own chiefs. In their tilting matches they, however, are frequently unhorſed, but their tilting lances are not pointed with iron. Their military muſic conſiſts of drums, fifes, and hautbois, the mingled noiſe of which is ſo diſcordant that, De la Faye remarks, it flayed his ears.

Boar-hunting is one of their amuſements, the ſpears for which are made of a heavy and tough wood, with blades about half a yard in length, and very thick, that they may not break againſt the hide of the boar. They rouze the game by hideous yells and ſhouts; and, ſhould a ſingle Moor happen to find himſelf in the way of the boar, holding it diſgraceful to recede, he ſtands firm, and receives the boar upon his ſpear. The animal gores himſelf to the extremity of the blade, where there is a croſs bar to prevent the farther inſertion of the ſpear, and the hunter from being wounded by the tuſks of the enraged boar. The Moor then either quits the ſpear, or, if

ſtrong

ſtrong enough, keeps his prey at bay, till his companions arrive to his aid.

The Moors, if equals, ſalute by a quick motion of joining hands, and each kiſſing his own. Inferiors kiſs the hand, and often the head, of ſuperiors. The Alcaid is ſaluted by kiſſing his feet, if on horſeback; otherwiſe, his hand, cloaths, or, if ſitting, his knees.

Windus affirms, the climate of Morocco is delicious, the ſoil generous, and fertile beyond imagination; that the Moors imitate the Spaniſh mode of agriculture; that judicious people informed him not a hundredth part of the lands were tilled, and that yet, ſo bountiful was nature, the Emperor was ſuppoſed to have corn enough in his matamores to ſupply the country for five years; that the land would produce a hundred fold more than the conſumption of the empire, were the inhabitants protected in the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of their labour; but that, ſhould the poor huſbandmen acquire a pair of oxen and plough, he would not only be liable to

be robbed of them by the next petty mercenary governor, but obliged to ſell his corn to pay an arbitrary tribute; that therefore there were no proprietors of land beyond two or three leagues round each town, and, if by chance ſome ſcattered huts were ſeen, they certainly belonged to an Alcaid, and were inhabited by his ſervants, who were treated like the beaſts that aided them to plough the ground.

According to Braithwaite, the northern part of the empire will yield all the eſſential products of Europe, and the ſouthern whatever is grown in the Weſt Indies, which ſufficiently ſpeaks the native riches of the country.

The rains are ſometimes heavy. Braithwaite, in his journal, ſays, returning to Tangiers, he rode all day in the moſt ſevere wind and rain he ever knew, of ſo long a continuance; that the ice was ſometimes an inch thick at Mequinez, and that the cold was ſo piercing he and his companions were one night obliged to diſmount and walk. It ought, however, to be obſerved

ſerved that the human body feels a ſmall degree of cold, after exceſſive heat, much more ſenſibly than a far greater, when the change is leſs ſudden.

The Moors have an opinion ſimilar to that of the Chriſtians, that—" The king-" dom of heaven ſuffereth violence, and " the violent take it by force." They think importunity will oblige God to grant their requeſts. In the time of heavy rains the children all day run about the ſtreets, and bawl for fair weather; and, in the time of drought, for rain, making a hideous noiſe. They ſometimes continue this practice for more than a week. Should God not liſten to the children, they are joined by the Saints and Talbes, who proceed altogether into the fields and call for rain. If this ſtill prove ineffectual, they go barefoot in a body, and meanly cloathed, to pray at the tombs of their Saints for rain, to which pious practice the Emperor himſelf occaſionally conforms. Should all theſe efforts fail, they at laſt drive the Jews out of the town, and forbid them to return without rain—" For, " ſay they,

they, "though God will not grant rain to "our prayers, he will to thoſe of the Jews, "to rid himſelf of their importunity, and "the ſtinking odour of their breath and feet." This, adds Windus, was done ſometime ago at Tangiers.

When the Moors happen to be caught in the rain, on their journies, or in the fields, they ſtrip themſelves naked, bundle up their apparel, and ſeat themſelves on the packet till the ſhower is over; after which they dreſs themſelves, and proceed on their way.

The bread of Morocco is very excellent; the corn and flour of Fez is remarkably ſweet and white. Their cheeſe is little better than curd; yet, though ſour in five or ſix hours, is kept and eaten when old. They do not ſkim their milk to make butter, but take it from the cow, and ſhake it in a ſkin; it is ſour, and kept in plaſtered holes in the ground, or buried in earthen jars. Inſtead of butter, the poor uſe beef, mutton, and goat ſuet. When eating, the Moors place their diſhes on a large piece

of

of greaſy leather ſpread upon the ground, which is a ſubſtitute for both table and cloth, and round this they ſeat themſelves croſs-legged. Buſnot informs us that Muley Iſhmael eat in this manner, without cloth, napkin, knife, or fork, and out of an earthen or wooden platter.

The Moors are ſo temperate that a man of ſixty is not thought old, but their temperance appears to be more the effect of neceſſity than choice. The very brothers of the Baſhaw of Tetuan uſed to enter the kitchen, during Mr. Ruſſel's embaſſy, and threaten to murder the cook, if he did not give them pudding and wine. The ſons of the Emperor, Muley Iſhmael, have even ſtolen bread from the pockets of the ſlaves.

Their avidity and meanneſs, like many or moſt other of their peculiarities, can only be accounted for by their ignorance. A court lady, in whoſe lap the drunken Emperor, Muley Daiby, uſed to ſleep, accepted a moidore as a bribe. The domeſtics of the palace would cut the buttons

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and the very clothes from the back of the Engliſh ambaſſador, and his attendants, if they were not careful to appear in the worſt they had; and the porters, at the various palace gates, individually refuſed to let them paſs till they were bribed. One of the guards picked the pocket of Mr. Windus as he ſtood beſide the prince, afterward Emperor, Muley Abdallah.

When a Baſhaw travels, the Moors of his diſtrict are obliged to ſupply him and his followers with all neceſſary proviſions, gratis. The dread of ſuperior power renders the inferior Alcaids exceedingly diligent, in not only bringing neceſſaries but preſents. This dread is the origin of the Mooriſh ſervility. Windus relates, that, when the Emperor, Muley Iſhmael, appeared, all preſent ſtretched out their necks, as if preſenting their heads to the ſabre, with their eyes fixed on the ground. Thus a man might (and indeed frequently did) loſe his head without knowing any thing of the matter. Some, when he ſpoke, exclaimed — "May God lengthen thy days! "May God bleſs thy life!" Others ſwore, by

by the Almighty, all he uttered was true. Speaking of the Engliſh on a certain occaſion, he ſaid —— "May I be called the "greateſt of lyars if I have not always "conceived a great eſteem for that na-"tion." As it happened, he made a pauſe at "the greateſt of lyars," and his eager officious courtiers exclaimed — "By G—, "my Lord, that is true." This, though unintentional, was a bitter ſarcaſm; for Muley Iſhmael was really the greateſt of lyars.

In the Emperor's preſence all, except foreign miniſters and their train, are obliged to appear barefoot. One of the firſt Engliſh ambaſſadors was obliged to ſubmit to this ceremony before Muley Iſhmael; and, in revenge, the ambaſſador from Morocco was conſtrained to appear, in the preſence of Charles II. at the Engliſh court, without ſhoes, turban, or bonnet.

The heat of their climate, their arbitrary government, and univerſal ignorance, render the Moors exceedingly idle. They are but little addicted to gaming: they eat, drink,

ſleep, and pray, amuſe themſelves with their horſes and their wives, and ſpend the reſt of their time in one continued fruitleſs ſtate of indolence. To walk up and down a room they hold ridiculous. "Why "ſhould a man move, ſay they, without "apparent cauſe? Is it not more rational "for him to remain in the place where he "is, than to go to ſome other for no pur-"poſe whatever but that of returning?" Numbers of them are ſeen ſeated on their hams, in the ſtreets beſide the walls, holding large ſtrings of beads, one of which they let fall at each prayer they repeat; and theſe prayers are merely repetitions of the attributes of God; ſuch as — "God "is great! God is good! God is infinite! "God is merciful!"

The Moors, like the Turks, have no bells, but are called to prayers from the ſteeples of their moſques; in all of which places of worſhip there is either a running ſtream, or a well of water. Swine are animals ſo unſanctified that a moſque at Tetuan was pulled down, as eternally polluted, becauſe it had been entered by one. They have

have a prophecy that they ſhall be conquered on a Friday, their ſabbath; for which reaſon the gates of their walled towns are ſhut on that day, as are alſo thoſe of the Emperor's palace.

They aſk their dead why they would die, whether they wanted any thing in this world, and if they had not cooſcooſoo enough. Their burial places are without the town. They make their graves wide at the bottom, that the corpſe may have ſufficient room; and never put two bodies into one grave, leſt they ſhould miſtake each others bones at the day of judgement. They alſo carry food, and put money and jewels into the grave, that they may appear as reſpectable in the other world as they had done in this. They imagine the dead are capable of pain. A Portugueſe gentleman had one day ignorantly ſtrayed among the tombs, and a Moor, after much wrangling, obliged him to go before the Cadi. The gentleman complained of violence, and aſſerted he had committed no crime; but the judge informed him he was miſtaken, for that the poor dead ſuffered when trod-

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den on by Chriſtian feet. Muley Iſhmael once had occaſion to bring one of his wives through a burial-ground, and the people removed the bones of their relations, and murmuring ſaid he would neither ſuffer the living nor the dead to reſt in peace.

A Jew, or Chriſtian, who ſhould enter one of their moſques, muſt either become a Mahometan or be burned alive. The country Moors purify the places where Chriſtians have been, by burning green branches; and their ſuperſtition, concerning unclean meats, is ſo great that the governors of the ſea ports, after a naval engagement, prohibited the eating of fiſh, becauſe it was poſſible they might be defiled by having fed on, and partaken of, the fleſh and blood of Chriſtians.

Their hatred of the Chriſtians, in ſome reſpects, exceeds their hatred of the Jews; for they alledge that the Chriſtians eat pork, meat ſtrangled, and blood, and do not waſh like the Jews. When Mr. Ruſſel and his attendants paſſed through the ſtreets of Mequinez, three or four hundred

dred fellows would ſcream, all together,—"Curſed are the unbelievers!" If a Moor is angry with his aſs, he firſt calls him *Carran*, that is cuckold, next, Son of a Jew, and vents the laſt effort of his malice in the exclamation—Son of a Chriſtian! This is their term of extreme reproach, which they never utter without the addition of "God confound him!" Or—"May the fire of God devour his father and "mother!" This hatred is the leſs ſurpriſing ſince Braithwaite affirms he knew not which were the worſt, at the court of Morocco, Moors, Negroes, Jews, Renegadoes, or Chriſtians. A proof of the immediate and powerful influence of evil example!

It is death for a Jew to curſe, or lift up his hand againſt a Moor. If kicked by a boy, the Jew has no remedy but to run away. He is obliged to approach the meaneſt Moor with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, and every form of reſpect; whereas a Moor diſdains to addreſs a Jew in any other terms than—Jew, do this; or, Jew, do that; and, ſhould he think proper to beat a

Jew, the only hope of the latter is in entreating for pardon for the love of the Emperor, whom he prays God to preſerve.

Muley Iſhmael, ingenious at finding pretexts for robbing his ſubjects, of all religions, thought proper, one day, to aſſemble the Chiefs of the Jews, on ſome pretended important buſineſs. When they came into his preſence, he, addreſſing them, ſaid — "Dogs, as you are, I have ſent for you to "oblige you to take the red cap, and turn "Mahometans. Above thirty years have "I been amuſed with an idle tale of the "coming of your Meſſiah. For my part, "I believe him come already; therefore, "if you do not now tell me the preciſe "day on which he is to appear, I ſhall "leave you neither property nor life. I "will be trifled with no longer."

Surprized at this gentle addreſs, which they ſo little expected, conſidering how many obligations Iſhmael was under to the Jewiſh nation, and the punctuality with which they had paid the exceſſive taxes with which they had been loaded, the Jews remained

mained ſometime ſilent. One of the moſt prudent among them, at length, requeſted a week to conſider of the anſwer they ſhould make. The Emperor bade them begone, but told them to beware, and not invent any more of their fabulous tales. They employed the interval they were allowed in collecting that anſwer which they well knew he required: they amaſſed a conſiderable ſum, and, bringing this as a peſent, ſaid—"Sidi, our doctors have concluded the Meſſiah will certainly appear within thirty years."——"Yes, yes," replied Iſhmael, taking the money, "I underſtand you, dogs as you are, and deceivers; you think to huſh my immediate wrath in the hope that I ſhall not then be alive; but I will deceive you, in my turn; I will live, if it be but to ſhew the world that you are impoſtors, and to puniſh you as you ſhall deſerve."

Several Moors came to aſk advice for their wives or daughters of the doctor who attended the embaſſy of Stewart, ſome of whom were ſo infatuated they would

rather the patient ſhould die than be ſeen; others conſented, but not till it was too late. One man, only, leſs jealous and timid than the reſt, took the doctor home to his wife, and treated him with kindneſs.

It is difficult, as Windus remarks, to give any general rule what a Saint, in this part of the world, is; or how he became ſo. Any extraordinary accident makes a Saint. A raſcal, attending on Muley Iſhmael, had committed ſome villany; and the Emperor, after raiſing his hand to kill him, declared he had not the power; for which the fellow was immediately ſanctified, and continued in great favour.

All things are lawful to Saints, for they act as prompted by the ſpirit, conſequently may ſteal, murder, or raviſh. One of them ſeized a girl, in the ſtreets of Sallee, who, not well comprehending ſuch kind of holineſs, made reſiſtance; ſome of the ſanctified tribe, however, ſoon tripped up her heels, and threw their haicks over her and the raviſher.

A Chriſtian entruſted a purſe of money to a Saint; and, when he afterward re-demanded it, the Saint denied all knowledge of the tranſaction. The Chriſtian applied to an Alcaid, and deſcribed his purſe. As it happened, the Alcaid was a man of quick intellect. He told the Chriſtian, had he been a Moor, he muſt have remained ſatisfied with the affirmation of the Saint; but, being a Chriſtian, he would oblige the Saint to ſwear, in the great moſque, he had not the money. The complainant replied a Chriſtian could not enter the moſque; and deſired the Saint might ſwear in the porch of the houſe of the Alcaid. The Saint came; the Alcaid treated him familiarly, and amuſed him with diſcourſing on various things till he had procured his beads. He then made ſome pretence to leave the room, and ſent the beads to the Saint's wife, as a token, with a meſſage that ſhe muſt return a purſe, of ſuch a deſcription, containing ſo much money. The purſe of the Chriſtian accordingly came, and the Alcaid took this occaſion to ſeize on the effects of the Saint,

and ſend him to practiſe holineſs where he was leſs known.

From Windus we alſo learn it was cuſtomary, under Muley Iſhmael, to purchaſe men; that is to ſay, one Moor, deſiring the deſtruction or poſſeſſions of another, might buy him of the Emperor, Baſhaw, or Alcaid, for a certain ſum. And this was ſometimes done on ſpeculation; the buyer torturing the man bought, in the moſt cruel manner, till he made him diſcover what money he poſſeſſed. Mr. Hatfield, an Engliſh merchant, relates, in a letter to a friend, cited by Windus, that, paſſing a priſon, in company with another Engliſhman, they ſaw a Moor hung by the heels, with irons on his legs, pincers at his noſe, his fleſh cut with ſciſſars, and two men employed in beating him, and demanding money. This, he ſays, was a bought man, for whom they had given five hundred ducats, and by whom they expected to gain an additional five hundred.

Two rival Jews had a conteſt of this kind. Memaran (or Maimoran) had been the

the chief favourite of Muley Iſhmael, and had obtained the ſole command of the Jews; and, fearing a rival in the enterprizing Ben-Hattar, he offered the Emperor a certain number of quintals of ſilver for his head. Muley Iſhmael ſent for Ben-Hattar, and told him how large a ſum had been bidden; to which the latter Jew reſolutely anſwered he would give twice as much, for the head of the perſon who had made the offer. The Emperor, taking the money from both, told them they were two fools, and bade them live friends. Ben-Hattar, accordingly, obtained the daughter of Memaran in marriage, and they governed the Jews between them with abſolute authority.

Indeed, ſo much worſe is the government of Morocco than that of the Turks themſelves, that the Mooriſh pilgrims, who reſort to Mecca, frequently refuſe to return. The violence of this government was not a little increaſed, under Muley Iſhmael, by the inſolence, rapacity, and cruelty of the Negroes. The moſt powerful of the Alcaids uſed to tremble in the preſence of the

loweſt of theſe Negroes. The collecting of the taxes, which his neighbours, the Algerines, could ſcarcely effect with the aid of ten or twelve thouſand men, Muley Iſhmael eaſily accompliſhed by ſending two or three of theſe his negro emiſſaries: ſuch was the terror the ſight of them inſpired.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial Eunuchs leſs arrogant. Braithwaite thus relates an example of their behaviour. A negro Eunuch, lately arrived from Mequinez, came and enquired for the Engliſh ambaſſador. Being informed the ambaſſador was not at home, he ſat himſelf down, and called for tea, as imperiouſly as if the houſe had been his own. The Mooriſh admiral, Perez, paid him great reſpect, deſired he might have tea, but alſo requeſted he might be narrowly watched, leſt he and his attendants ſhould take what did not belong to them. He gave himſelf inſufferable airs, as if he were a perſon whoſe authority was undoubted; ſerved the tea about himſelf, gave cups to all his ſervants, ſeven or eight in number, and filled them with ſugar, till the Engliſh refuſed to ſupply him

him with more. After tea he called for cyder, and drank ſeveral bottles, romancing all the while in a ſtrange manner; affirming that the Emperor, Muley Daiby, was ſo handſome that ſpectators, having once fixed their eyes on him, were unable to look off, and that his troops were more numerous than the ſands of the ſea. When queſtioned, he gave juſt ſuch anſwers as he thought proper, without the leaſt regard to truth. As he went he attempted to pocket the remainder of a pound of tea.

This Eunuch was young, ſmooth faced, luſty, exceedingly well dreſſed, and well attended, with habits no way inferior to thoſe of a Baſhaw. Eunuchs were uſed as ſtate meſſengers, from the Emperor, to the governors of towns and provinces, who careſſed and made them large preſents, fearful of being maliciouſly ſpoken of by them at court. The preſents, likewiſe, of governors to the Emperor's women, and other ſimilar correſpondence, paſſed through their hands; ſo that they as often travelled on the buſineſs of the women as on that of the Emperor, which gave them great authority,

thority, and, for want of a better knowledge of the world, made them ſo intolerably inſolent.

Among various other puniſhments, inflicted by the barbarian Iſhmael, was that of toſſing. Three or four Negroes, ſeizing the perſon, ordered to be thus puniſhed, by the hams, would throw him up, and twirl him round, ſo as to make him pitch with his head foremoſt. Thus, by frequent practice, they became ſo dextrous that they could break the neck at the firſt toſs, diſlocate the ſhoulder, or let the body fall with leſs danger. Sometimes the perſon toſſed was killed, at others, ſeverely bruiſed; and, if able, he muſt not move, while the Emperor was in ſight, unleſs he would be toſſed once more; but muſt counterfeit death. If really dead, no one dared bury the body, until the tyrant gave orders for the burial.

Another ſpecies of torture was that of the iron ring. This was a circle of iron, the inſide of which contained ſharp projecting points: it opened and ſhut at pleaſure, by means of ſcrews, and was uſually applied

applied to the head of any perſon from whom money was meant to be extorted.

Drawing of teeth was one of the inhuman ſports of Iſhmael. He one day commanded the teeth of fourteen of his wives, or concubines, to be drawn, for no other crime than having viſited each other without his permiſſion. His ſon, the drunken, brutal, Muley Daiby, proved himſelf well worthy ſuch a father. One of his miſtreſſes having diſobliged him, he ordered all her teeth to be drawn. In leſs than a week he ſent for this woman, and was told ſhe was ill. So habitual was barbarity, and a ſtate of intoxication, to him, that he had forgotten the dreadful puniſhment he had inflicted, and enquired what was her diſeaſe. Being anſwered her teeth had all been drawn, by his command, he denied ever having given ſuch a command; ſent for the man who had been his executioner, ordered all his teeth immediately to be drawn, and returned them, incloſed in a box, to comfort the woman.

The Mooriſh houſes are not only dark

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for want of windows, but the doors, through which light is admitted, often have curtains before them. This gloom ſeems neceſſary to the climate; it prevents heat, and baniſhes the flies. The women pay viſits over the tops of their houſes, which are more frequented by them than the ſtreets; and, at Mequinez, they may walk in this manner, from houſe to houſe, over the whole town; and this is much the neareſt way. The ſtreets are not paved, and, therefore, are continually rendered, by the rains and heats, either inſufferably dirty or duſty.

The palace, or palaces, built at this city by Muley Iſhmael, rather reſemble a city than one entire building. The tower of London, ſays Braithwaite, might as properly be called a palace. He eſtimates the circumference of theſe buildings, including ſeveral gardens, meadows, and grounds, at three or four miles. De la Faye ſuppoſes it may be half a league, without the gardens. Windus, who gives a perſpective view of this pile of buildings, ſays it is four miles in circumference, almoſt

ſquare,

ſquare, and near no hill by which it can be overlooked. The walls are wholly of caſt mortar, beaten in caſes, and hardened like artificial ſtone. The outward wall is five-and-twenty feet thick. Within this vaſt encloſure are ſquares more extenſive than Lincoln's inn fields, with piazzas; ſome of them are chequer-paved; others have gardens, ſunken conſiderably below the ſurface, and planted with tall cypreſs trees, the tops of which form a beautiful variety of palace and garden. The tops of moſt of theſe buildings riſe in a pyramidal form, and are covered with green varniſhed tiles, which have a bright and pleaſant effect. The colour of green is appropriated ſolely to the emperor. Thirty thouſand men, and ten thouſand mules, are ſaid to have been daily employed on theſe buildings, which are cumbrous and vaſt, but cool and refreſhing.

Some few additional incidents, extracted from the authors cited in this chapter, will further tend to depict the manners of the Moors of thoſe times; the people who, of all others, conſidering their proximity to en-

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lightened nations, ſeem to have made the leaſt improvements, or progreſs toward refinement. Theſe anecdotes will all relate to the Emperors Muley Iſhmael, and Muley Daiby, whoſe lives will be found among thoſe of the hiſtory of the Emperors of Morocco, in the ſecond volume; but, as they are not inſerted by M. Chenier, they will ſcarcely here be thought ſuperfluous, or miſplaced. They convey a melancholy picture of the dreadful errors, and caprices, of power unreſtrained; and its pernicious, its exterminating, conſequences: a picture that cannot be too often, or too forcibly, preſented to the eyes of man.

So native is juſtice to the human heart, and its neceſſity ſo evident, that Muley Iſhmael himſelf pretended to have it in the utmoſt regard. Shooting, and ſtriking, at random, as he did, it ſometimes happened thoſe were killed at whom the ſtroke was not intended; in which caſe he would, very civilly, beg the dead perſon's pardon, but add it was not to be avoided: the fault, if there was any, was with God, for he had decreed the man muſt die. When he killed

killed any one, without being able to aſſign a motive, which was frequently the caſe, he would have it underſtood that, acting wholly by the appointment of God, he could not do wrong, nor had any thing to fear from man.

His mercy was, ſometimes, as unaccountable as were his murders. A Spaniard had been bribed to ſhoot him, but, miſſing his aim, lodged the two balls with which he had loaded his gun in the pummel of his ſaddle. The Spaniard was ſeized, and it was expected he would have ſuffered a death of torture. The Emperor, however, reproaching him, aſked what he had done to deſerve this uſage; whether the people were tired of him, and if he were no more beloved: after which he took no farther notice, but ſent the man to work among his other Chriſtian ſlaves. The Spaniard ſtill had his fears, and turned Mahometan, but continued to wear his Spaniſh dreſs, perhaps becauſe he had no other. Some years had elapſed, when the Emperor, being among his workmen, aſked him why his head was not uncovered. The Spaniard

anſwered

anſwered he was a Mahometan. The Emperor made enquiries concerning him, and, being informed who he was, ordered his immediate manumiſſion, aſked him a thouſand pardons for having kept him ſo long at work, entirely new cloathed him, and made him a Baſhaw.

To ſuch kind of treatment his grandees were hourly ſubject: to-day hugged, kiſſed, and preferred; to-morrow ſtripped, robbed, and beaten. The Negro who carried this Emperor's umbrella was remarked to be covered with ſcars. When Iſhmael had done with his lance, it was cuſtomary for him to dart it into the air, and, if it were not caught before it came to the ground, the man appointed for that office was killed. It was obſerved of him, whenever he beat a man ſeverely, that man was in the high road to preferment. The chances were greatly in his favour, that, finding him in chains, ſome few days after, in a wretched condition, the tyrant would call him his dear friend, uncle, or brother; enquire how he became ſo miſerable, as if wholly ignorant of the matter, beſtow his

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own apparel upon him, which was a mark of great diſtinction, make him as fine as a prince, and bid him go and govern ſome great town. This, it is ſaid, was a part of his barbarous policy. Being convinced he had ſtripped a man of all he poſſeſſed, he then ſent him forth again to glean.

Hypocriſy was one of his greateſt vices, and his example rendered it the faſhionable vice of the court, during his reign. He affected to attribute his proſperity to the immediate protection of Mahomet, one of whoſe decendants he is ſuppoſed. He called himſelf the friend of God, the executor of his councils, and it was neceſſary to ſay thoſe whom he had maſſacred, in his frenzy, had fallen by the hand of God. Thoſe who ſhould dare to ſay otherwiſe would themſelves have been maſſacred. The Koran was always borne before him, by his Talbe, as his guide, and the rule of his conduct. His hands were frequently raiſed toward heaven, and not ſeldom while ſtained with human blood. He would often alight to kiſs the earth, and the name of

God, and of his prophet, were continually in his mouth, even in his fits of utmoſt fury. He was vain of being himſelf a Talbe, or doctor of the Mahometan law, and preached, in his moſque, in a manner more forcible, it is ſaid, than any other of the Talbes. So confirmed was the opinion that thoſe whom he ſlew went immediately to paradiſe that the infatuated Moors have come, from the fartheſt extremity of the empire, to entreat the favour of being murdered by his hand. St. Olon affirms that, while he was at Mequinez, in the ſpace of three weeks, he had killed forty-ſeven perſons. It was a common mode with him, to ſhow his dexterity, at once to mount his horſe, draw his ſabre, and ſever the head from the body of the ſlave who held the ſtirrup.

His avarice, indeed, ſeems even to have exceeded his hypocriſy. On a famous moſque, in the city of Morocco, were three globes, or, as they were called, apples of gold, which were ſaid to have been enchanted. They were placed on this moſque by the wife of the renowned Almonſor,

monſor, who expended the greateſt part of her jewels and wealth in their conſtruction. Aſtrology had been conſulted, and the magical architect had, by his conjurations, ſo confined certain ſpirits to watch over them that their removal was held to be impoſſible. The credulous people affirmed that various monarchs, attempting to take them down, had been prevented, by ſome fatal accident, and that the devil had broken the necks of all thoſe who had been ſent to execute ſuch commands. They were, at length, undeceived by the covetous Muley Iſhmael. Theſe balls were removed, during his reign, and buried with his other inviſible and uſeleſs treaſures.

The education of the ſons of this Emperor, if education it may be called, was ſuch as to render them even more irrational, barbarous, and brutal, than their father. They received no inſtruction, nor had they any employment, except that of indulging themſelves in all the malicious pranks of boys. At the ſight of any of them, every man was careful to conceal whatever might attract their notice, for they ſeized on all

that came to hand, and pilfered with impunity. While Buſnot and the friars of his order were at Mequinez, one of them entered the apartment of theſe fathers. A French merchant, acquainted with their manners, rid them of his company, by giving him two or three blanquils, which he joyfully received, and ran off exceedingly happy. The Jews were peſtered by their viſits. Inſtead of conducting themſelves like the ſons of an Emperor, their behaviour reſembled that of Gipſies, who rob hedges and henrooſts. M. St. Olon had a viſit from one, who paid him neither ſalutation nor compliment, but fell on every thing in the chamber that he thought worth his attention. His entrance and exit reſembled that of a monkey, that, ſeeing a baſket of fruit, and having ſtuffed his pouch, whiſks away when he can take no more. This youth, of about twelve or thirteen, carried off a pair of piſtols, and ſome boxes of ſome ſweet meats. After ſerving this noble kind of apprenticeſhip, as they approached the ſtate of manhood, they were ſent, by the Emperor, to govern his various towns and provinces, where

where the unhappy people ſoon too ſenſibly felt the effects of ſuch an education. The female children of Muley Iſhmael, by his concubines, were ſtrangled at their birth.

This Emperor was an early riſer. It was conjectured his reſt was diſturbed by the horrors of his conſcience, and the exactions, cruelties, and murders of which he had been guilty. Waited on in his palace by women, young girls, boys, and eunuchs, ſuch attendants durſt not tell tales; but, according to report, in his camp, his reſtleſsneſs was apparent. Starting from his reveries, he was heard to call upon thoſe he had murdered, and, ſuddenly waking, he would ſometimes aſk for ſome perſon whom he had killed but the day before. If anſwered he is dead, he would reply—"Who killed him?" Perſonal ſafety required the anſwer ſhould be—"We do not "know, but we ſuppoſe God."

It was affirmed he uſed often to call on his favourite Hameda, when walking alone, and when he ſuppoſed he could not

be

be overheard. This Hameda came a boy into his army, where, being noticed, the Emperor gave him a horſe. As he grew up, he became a jocular, pleaſant fellow, and the Emperor indulged his familiarities ſo far that he was allowed to enter the gardens, when Iſhmael was with his women; a liberty no man, before or ſince, ever durſt take. He had the title of Baſhaw of Baſhaws, and the Emperor uſed paſſionately to tell him he never could be really angry with him, and that to kill him was a thing to him impoſſible. It is indeed ſuppoſed he did not deſign his death. It was the conſequence of beating him, with the but end of his lance, ſo ſeverely that he died the next day of his bruiſes. The Emperor expreſſed much ſorrow, confeſſed he repented of what he had done, ſent him and his phyſicians a bag of money, and entreated him to live.

The common habits, and appearance, of Iſhmael, were very oppoſite to thoſe ideas Europeans entertain of imperial dignity. On the firſt audience M. St Olon received, this Emperor was ſeated on the threſhold

threſhold of the gate of his Alcaſſave, or palace, on a mat, without a carpet, with ſome Alcaids, ſitting upon the bare ground, round him, who were without ſhoes; he had a dirty, ſnuffy, handkerchief over his face, and his legs and arms were bare. As an additional mark of his character, it may be added, his puniſhments were as capricious as they were cruel. He ſometimes ſent for the head of an Alcaid; at others, the meſſenger was to ſpit in his face, give him a box on the ear, or call him cuckold.

Various traits of the character of Muley Daiby have been already given. According to Braithwaite, this Emperor was in perſon ſix feet ſix inches high, of a fierce and bloated countenance, much pitted with the ſmall pox, wanted his foreteeth, and was, altogether, very ugly. At Mr. Ruſſel's firſt audience, he was ſo drunk he could ſcarcely hold up his head. All he ſaid was *Buono*, *Buono*; except giving orders that the Chriſtians ſhould have plenty of wine and roaſted pigs, both of which were his favourite luxuries, though both contrary to the Mahometan law. Had not his drunk-

drunkenneſs rendered him incapable of all buſineſs, Mr. Ruſſel's embaſſy, probably, would have been ſucceſsful; for he had gained his heart by the cheſts of Florence wine he had brought, one of which, it is ſaid, this Emperor and his firſt miniſter, a fat negro, of monſtrous bulk, with two or three other drunken favourites, emptied in one night. After having drunken three or four flaſks himſelf, the Emperor took up another, and hugging it in his arms, proteſted the Chriſtian, who brought it, ſhould have whatever he came to aſk.

The qualities of his heart and mind were apparent in his youth. He one day met a Jew, and ſwore he would murder him if he did not drink all the brandy in his flaſk. To preſerve his life the man drank the liquor; and, had the Emperor (Iſhmael) paſſed that way, he would certainly have been killed for being drunk.

Another time he obliged a Spaniard and an Engliſhman to wreſtle, and took an oath to diſpatch him who was thrown, which fell to the lot of the Spaniard. He once made

made a grave oration to a monkey, reproving and informing him that monkeys were not good Muſſelmen, and particularly, that they had ſpilt cooſcooſoo, for which they had been metamorphoſed. (Such is the Mooriſh tradition.) Having ended his harangue, he drew his ſabre, and ſtruck off the head of the monkey.

To add any remarks concerning what the effects of ſuch a government, and ſuch governors, muſt be, were needleſs. The Moors perhaps are as capable as any nation of knowledge and wiſdom. At preſent, unhappily, they merit too well the name of Barbarians.

END OF VOL. I.

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

ITS

ANIMALS, PRODUCTS, CLIMATE, SOIL, CITIES, PORTS, PROVINCES, COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES. WITH THE LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER,

OF THE

MOORS;

THE HISTORY OF THE

DYNASTIES SINCE EDRIS;

THE NAVAL FORCE AND COMMERCE OF MOROCCO; AND THE CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND VIEWS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

REIGNING EMPEROR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

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THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

BOOK III.

History of the Sovereigns of Fez, Morocco, Suz, and other States—Different Dynasties from the foundation of the kingdom of Fez, to the succession of the Sharifs of the reigning family.

CHAP. I.

Decline of the Empire of the Caliphs Accession, and reign of Edris. Expulsion and destruction of his family. Various usurpers.

AFTER the Arabs had possessed themselves of Mauritania, and had introduced their religion there, it was for some time

governed by the lieutenants of the Caliphs. The diſtance of the ſeat of government of theſe Caliphs, who, extending their conqueſts, had ſucceſſively removed their throne from Medina to Damaſcus, from Damaſcus to Cufa, and from Cufa to Bagdad, ſoon changed the order of things, and inſenſibly enfeebled their authority. The Arab generals in Africa profited by theſe circumſtances in favour of their ambitious projects, excited commotions toward the end of the eighth century, and aſpired themſelves at ſovereignty. The deſcendants of Mahomet, called, as it were, to the throne by the veneration in which they were held by the vulgar, raiſed new factions; the Edriſſites, who took their name from Edris, ſon of Abdallah, deſcendant of Ali, huſband to the daughter of Mahomet. were the firſt. From Herbelot it appears that their dynaſty was exterminated by the Fatimites, who pretended they were the deſcendants of Ali and Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet; this latter dynaſty, the founder of which took the name of Mohadi, director of the faithful, had ſome ſucceſs in Egypt; but its

its duration in Mauritania, which was expoſed to numerous revolutions, was only momentary. This part of Africa was afterward governed by four principal dynaſties, the Morabethoon, the Moahedins, the Benimerins, and the Sharifs of two different branches.

Africa, remaining in the power of the Arabs from the beginning of the eighth century, was governed by the lieutenants of the Caliph Walid, and his ſucceſſors, till the year 739, of the Chriſtian æra. Yezid, lieutenant of the Caliph Omar II., who then governed, being deceaſed at Cayroan, Abul-Hages, who had been lieutenant of the Caliph Abdelmelek, took advantage of his death to raiſe an inſurrection, and, at the head of the inſurgents, reduced the country, proceeded as far as the north of Mauritania, and, defying every effort of Gualid, eſtabliſhed himſelf as the commander of the faithful. It is probable Gualid was the chief of the principal tribe that then inhabited the province of Rif in the leſſer Atlas, where ſtill is found the Cafile of Beni-Gualid. This Shaik, whom

his tribe conſidered as King, oppoſed with all his power the invaſion of foreigners, in a country which has ever been ſtrongly defended by nature.

We learn, from the Spaniſh authors, that the oppreſſions of the Arabs in the north of Mauritania, and the contributions they exacted from the Moors, gave birth to many revolts, in which the negroes, who inhabited the deſerts to the ſouth of Morocco, took part. The Caliph, informed of theſe commotions, ſent a conſiderable reinforcement of cavalry, which produced not the leaſt effect; the Arabs and their horſes having been terrified by that multitude of black men, who, riding almoſt naked, had an appearance of great ferocity, and inſpired dread.

The example of theſe ſeditions had a bad effect in Spain, where the Arabs and Moors were equally divided and agitated. Abul-Hages having been ſlain in the inſurrections of Africa, his ſon put himſelf at the head of the weſtern Africans; nor was the revolt appeaſed till the ſon alſo

fell in battle, combating the army of the governor of Egypt.

At the ſame period the Caliph Abdallah, competitor of the Caliph Abdelmelek, who had rendered himſelf maſter of the Hegias, deſirous of aſcertaining the Caliphet to his ſon Mahomet Mahadi, put to death all the kinſmen of Ali at Medina, forgetting only one old man, the deſcendant of Haſſan, ſon of Ali, ſon in law of Mahomet, whoſe poſterity a ſpecial providence ſeemed to protect. One of the ſons of this old man was beheaded; the other, named Edris, had the good fortune to eſcape, and fled in 768 into Mauritania, there to avoid the perſecuting ſword. Edris ſettled at Tiulit, in the mountain of Zaaron, between Fez and Mequinez, where he behaved with ſo much prudence that he gained the confidence of the people, who, highly reſpecting his virtues, were deſirous to live under his government, and embrace his religion. The arrival of this Edris, his exemplary conduct, and the leſſons he gave, firſt ſcattered the ſeeds of Mahometaniſm in theſe countries, where that reli-

gion, having great analogy with the manners of the Moors, was well calculated to make a rapid progreſs.

Edris, profiting by his aſcendant over the minds of men, ſent troops into Spain to ſuccour the Mahometans; and this zeal for the propagation of his religion ſtill increaſed the affection of the Moors. Edris dying left a poſthumous ſon, who was alſo named Edris, and whom, out of reſpect for the father's memory, the people acknowledged as Sovereign: it even appears that, during the minority of this prince, the Mooriſh armies gained ſome victories.

In 793 Edris II. founded the city of Fez, capital of the kingdom ſo called. This was the firſt monarchy eſtabliſhed in Africa after Mahomet; and the Mahometans long called it the court, or kingdom of the weſt. Edris intereſted himſelf much in favour of the Arab Moors in Spain; and having profited by the war, and by the œconomy he had eſtabliſhed, he continued building the city of Fez in 840,

840, and erected the moſque called after his name, in which his memory and his tomb are ſtill held in reverence.

The ardour with which this prince inſpired the Mahometan Africans induced them to build in the ſame city the famous moſque called Carubin, for which the city was indebted, perhaps, to the devotion and liberalities of the people of Cayroan, who, having retired to Fez that they might not be expoſed to the commotions which then diſturbed the eaſtern part of Africa, may have contributed to the foundation of that magnificent moſque.

We are not acquainted with the race of the kings of Mauritania, the deſcendants of Sidi-Edris, but we know that family continued to reign, and that Edris beſtowed the government of cities on ten of his ſons. From Marmol we learn that the houſe of Edris and the houſe of Mequineci reigned in Mauritania in 914, and that Mahomet Motaras, Lord of Ceuta, paſſed over into Spain, with troops, at the ſolicitation of Abdelrahaman, king of Cordova.

He afterwards ſent new reinforcements from Mauritania into Spain in 920 and 925.

The diviſions which were in the kingdom of Fez, during the tenth century, were but the preſage of thoſe by which that empire has ſo long been convulſed; and the family of Edris, that had reigned about a hundred and fifty years, was diſturbed by a croud of uſurpers. The tribe of Zenetes, called Mequineci, ſeized about that time on ſeveral provinces, and founded the city of Mequinez, nearly ten leagues from Fez. A Marabout of that tribe, profiting about the ſame time by the fluctuating ſtate and credulity of the people, ſeduced their minds by fanatic predictions, and brought much diſcredit on the ſucceſſors of Edris. Having formed a conſiderable party in the province of Temſena, he marched againſt the king of Fez, declared war againſt him; and the latter, wearied of that he ſuſtained againſt the Zenetes, rather choſe to conclude a peace, and yield him the crown, than to behold an

an increaſe of enemies, or expoſe himſelf to the fickleneſs of his ſubjects.

The progreſs theſe miſſionaries made in Mauritania, among an ignorant people flocking after innovators, raiſed up one who proclaimed himſelf El-Mohadi, the director, or pontif, of the Muſſulmen, a deſcendant of Ali and Fatima, and whoſe origin, according to Herbelot, was doubtful: this man declaimed againſt the houſe of Edris, which he accuſed of hereſy, and of following the ſect of Ali, a ſectary unknown to the Moors. Having made himſelf maſter of various cities, he depoſed the ſons of Edris from their governments before the ſuccours they had intreated from the king of Cordova were arrived. El-Mohadi cut off the deſcendants of Edris, after having ſeized on their governments *, declared himſelf Caliph, and marched toward Mount Atlas to extend his domains.

* One of theſe princes, named Sharif El-Edriſſi, author of the work, entitled *Geographia Nubienſis*, fled at this time into Sicily to the court of King Roger, to whom he dedicated his book.

Arrived

Arrived at Sugulmeſſa, the governor had him ſeized as an impoſtor; but, fearing to irritate the people, and reſpecting his origin, he calling himſelf the deſcendant of Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, the governor gave him his liberty.

El-Mohadi was in the ſouth, when one of the generals of the king of Cordova arrived with an army to aid the houſe of Edris: this general, named Al-Habid El-Monſor, conquered a part of the kingdom of Fez, fortified Arzilla near Tangiers, left a garriſon there, and that city for ſome time remained under the government of the kings of Cordova.

By this revolution El-Mohadi could not preſerve the kingdom of Fez to himſelf. This prince going to viſit the governor of Sugulmeſſa, that he might gratify the reſentment he had conceived againſt him, aſſaſſinated him, excited new troubles, and thus became odious to the people who had followed his ſtandard. The uſurper, whoſe reign was momentary in Mauritania, was obliged to paſs into the eaſtern

part

part of Africa, where he met with new obſtacles from another bigot, who, in turn, had brought him into diſcredit, in the opinion of the people whom he had deceived by an affectation of humility. This latter chief was, in deriſion, called the Knight of the Aſs, becauſe one part of his pretended humbleneſs conſiſted in always riding on an aſs, with his face covered like the Molathemins. Molathemins is a name given in Africa to a tribe who, going to battle with another more powerful, obliged the women to take arms; and, that they might not be diſtinguiſhed, the men, like them, artfully veiled their faces.

All Africa at this time was torn by diviſions, on a tradition that, three hundred years after Mahomet, another director of the faithful, or Mohadi, ſhould come from the weſt; and various impoſtors profiting by this tradition impoſed on the vulgar credulity, that they might ſeize the government. Obeidallah, founder of the dynaſty of the Fatimites, left Sugulmeſſa, and, penetrating as far as Egypt, he there vanquiſhed the troops of the Caliph. The

wars

wars he ſuſtained in Egypt, Syria, and the eaſtern parts of Africa, changed the ſituation of affairs in the weſt, where a ſucceſſion of innovators, profiting by theſe diviſions to the furtherance of their projects, reciprocally ſnatched the ſceptre from the power of their predeceſſors.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Dynaſty of Morabethoon.

ABU-Teſſifin Marabout, nephew of Abu-Beker Ben-Omar, of the tribe of Lumthunes *, and chief of the Morabethoon, profited by the commotions which had drawn the arms of the Arabs toward Egypt to produce an inſurrection; he ſent Marabouts to preach, and excite the people to revolt, under the pretext of defending their liberties. The Moors, weary of the arbitrary government of theſe Arab foreigners, willingly followed the ſtandard of

* The country which the Marabouts inhabited, lying between Mount Atlas and the deſert, was called Lamtha; whence the tribe had the name of Lamthoonah, or Lumthunes.

Herbelot. Bib. Orien.

Teſſifin,

Teſſifin, who preſently found himſelf at the head of a numerous army.

The tribe of this chief was ſurnamed Morabethoon, becauſe of the rigidity with which religion was by them obſerved; the word Marabout ſignifying a monk, or a man engaged to the performance of his vow. This tribe firſt took birth in the neighbourhood of Tunis, but was obliged to leave that country for the weſtern part of Africa, that it might eſcape the perſecution of ſects more voluptuous, whoſe intereſt it was to extirpate this riſing tribe.

Abu-Teſſifin, at the head of his followers, traverſed Mount Atlas in 1051, and conquered the city of Agmet and its environs: here he fixed his reſidence, at the foot of Mount Atlas, extended thence his conqueſts northward, and proclaimed himſelf Emir El-Mumenin, or chief of the faithful. He is one of the firſt ſovereigns known of the race of Morabethoon, or more commonly called Morabites; his armies were conſtantly victorious, and, after various battles,

battles, he remained ſovereign of Mauritania.

Abu-Teſſifin died in 1086, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Joſeph, whoſe ſubjects proclaimed him King *. This prince not being pleaſed with the ſituation of the city of Agmet, at the foot of the mountains, built or finiſhed that of Marakeſch, or Morocco, which had been begun by his father, and there eſtabliſhed his ſeat of empire.

During his reign the province of Temſena afforded an aſylum to a multitude of Zenetes, who preached new errors. Joſeph was very induſtrious to prevent theſe innovations among his ſubjects, and ſent them Morabite preachers to reconvert them to their former religion; but the people, fond of novelty, were ſo far from liſtening to the remonſtrances of the reformers,

* The Arab authors of Spain call this prince Abul-Iſa Ibrahim-Ben-Joſeph-Ben-Teſſifin. It was the cuſtom of theſe people to call their children by the names of their anceſtors.

whom

whom Joſeph had ſent them, that they put them to death at Anafai, where they were aſſembled.

Irritated by a conduct ſo inſolent, Joſeph paſſed the Morbeya with a powerful army. At the news of his march the Zenetes, with their chief, thought proper to retreat, and proceeded toward Fez, where they demanded aid of the king; but this prince, inſtead of granting ſuccour to theſe public diſturbers, went in ſearch of them with his forces, and, having come up with them on the banks of the Buregreb, where they were harraſſed with famine and fatigue, he fell upon them, and cut them in pieces.

Joſeph, after having ravaged the lands of Temſena, and deſtroyed all its habitations, returned victorious to Morocco. Ambitious and deſirous of extending his power, he ſome time after marched with his army and made war on the king of Fez, whom he vanquiſhed; taking advantage of the inconſtancy of the people, he ſeized on his kingdom, which was thus, for the firſt time, united to that of Morocco.

Encou-

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of his arms, Joſeph advanced as far as Tremecen, thence he proceeded to Bugia, and having obliged the Moors of that part of Africa, and even thoſe of Tunis, to become his vaſſals, he once more returned triumphant to Morocco, where he was again proclaimed, with this increaſe of power, commander of the faithful. He afterward made war upon the Brebes, who had retired among the mountains, and over whom he gained ſeveral advantages.

The victories of Joſeph Ben-Teſſifin had acquired him reputation ſo great that, in 1097, the Mahometan kings of Spain ſought his alliance, and even offered him the ſupreme ſovereignty, hoping, by his aſſiſtance, they ſhould be enabled once more to eſtabliſh and extend their empire. On this invitation Joſeph paſſed over into Andaluſia, and, joining his forces to thoſe of the Mahometans of Spain, conquered the city of Seville and its environs; whence, after projecting further victories, he returned into Africa to make the neceſſary preparations.

In Africa, Joſeph proclaimed the Gazia, or war, of religion. Having aſſembled numerous troops, drawn together by fanaticiſm, and the hope of plunder, he marched, embarked at Ceuta, and proceeded to Malaga. This campaign, and thoſe which followed, were highly glorious to the king of Morocco, ſince, in 1102, he was maſter of all Andaluſia, Grenada, and Murcia, and in the ſame year returned into Africa loaded with laurels.

The following years this prince again paſſed over into Spain to continue his conqueſts, penetrated as far as Cordova, and gained ſeveral battles, particularly that fought on the twenty-ninth of May, 1107, againſt the army of Don Alphonſo VI. whoſe ſon, Don Sancho, the commander, with ſix other of the firſt nobility, loſt their lives. This is the battle which the Spaniards have called the battle of the ſeven Counts. After this victory Joſeph returned to Morocco, where he died, in 1110, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ali.

Ali, the ſon of Joſeph, third king of Morocco, of the race of Morabethoon, built the grand moſque at Morocco, continued to ſuccour the Mahometans of Spain, and made his power reſpected there by the armies which he perſonally headed, between the years 1112 and 1115. Some authors ſay he was killed at the battle of Moriella, where his army was attacked by that of king Alphonſo; that his ſon, Teſſifin-Ben-Ali, continued in Spain with ſome troops, and that the remainder were tranſported into Africa.

Brahem, the ſon of Ali, and the laſt king of Morocco, of the ſame dynaſty, who was proclaimed after the death of his father, confirmed the princes who governed the oriental provinces dependent on him in their poſſeſſions, and was declared commander of the faithful. Africa, under the reign of this prince, was torn by inteſtine diviſions, which were fatal to the dynaſty of the Morabites, and which did not permit Brahem to go himſelf into Spain, nor to maintain that ſovereignty there which the Arab Moors had offered to his anceſ-

tors, and which they had ſo well deſerved by their valour.

The governors of the principal places of Andaluſia profited by this momentary weakneſs to erect the cities and provinces, over which they preſided, into ſmall principalities: the king of Morocco was at this time too much employed in oppoſing the inſurgents of his own ſtates to prevent theſe their uſurpations. Brahem was beſide an indolent prince, and addicted to pleaſure; to the gratification of which he ſacrificed affairs the moſt important. His ſubjects, at length, loaded with taxes, and oppreſſed, refuſed to acknowledge him as their maſter.

The relaxed ſtate of the government, and the diſcontent of the people, favoured a revolt, which was at this time incited toward Mount Atlas by another innovator, who, aſſuming the impoſing title of Mohadi, director of the faithful, entered Mauritania, and drew the people to his party, who were eaſy to ſeduce, by projects of reformation.

This

This preacher, whoſe name was Mahomet Abdallah, calling himſelf a deſcendant of Ali, met, according to Herbelot, near Melilla, another doctor, named Abdulmomen, who ſaid he was the Mohadi, or prophet, expected at the end of ages. Theſe two men, united, approaching Morocco, preached there publicly, drew over proſelytes to their belief, and Abdallah was acknowledged king.

Brahem, abſorbed in pleaſure, had deſpiſed this revolution, but was at length obliged to head his army, and give the Reformer battle, who was now become ſtrong in conſequence of diſcontent and enthuſiaſm. Brahem was defeated, and forced to fly. Purſued from one place of refuge to another, he at length came to Oran, where the Moors, not daring to expoſe themſelves to the reſentment of Abdulmomen, who was following to take Brahem, refuſed him an aſylum. Brahem, ſeeing himſelf thus hunted, unable to ſurvive his grief, threw himſelf, according to ſome hiſtorians, headlong from a rock; others affirm he periſhed in a caſtle, which

was fired by Abdulmomen, and the death of this prince ended the dynaſty of Morabethoon.

Abdulmomen, general of Abdallah, having ſubjected all the provinces of Mauritania to the power of his maſter, during this expedition, and bearing with him hoſtages to inſure their ſubmiſſion, returned to Morocco. Here he found Mahomet Abdallah dead in his camp. The chiefs, being aſſembled, acknowledged Abdulmomen, who alſo affirmed himſelf one of the deſcendants of Mahomet and Ali, their ſovereign, and commander of the faithful.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Dynaſty of the Moahedins.

ABDULMOMEN * was the firſt king of the race of the Moahedins, whom the Spaniards have called Almohades; he was choſen king of Morocco in 1148: after his election he deſtroyed the city of Morocco, into which the inhabitants refuſed him entrance, and which they would have preſerved for Iſac ſon of Brahem. Abdulmomen was ſo enraged at this that he made a vow the city ſhould paſs through a ſieve.

After carrying Morocco by aſſault, he, with his own hands, ſtrangled the young

* Herbelot calls him Mohamet Abdulmomen Ben-Tomrut; according to Marmol, his name was Abulmomen Ben-Abdallah Ben-Ali.

Iſac, ſon of Brahem, who had there been acknowledged king, and who was the laſt of the houſe of Teſſifin, the founders of Morocco, as well as of the empire. Abdulmomen, that he might perform his vow, reduced a part of that capital to duſt, and paſſed its aſhes through a ſieve; and that he might leave no veſtige of the grandeur of its kings, and bury their name in oblivion, he deſtroyed their palaces and moſques.

This prince afterward rebuilt the city, and gave orders that all the Morabethoon found throughout his empire ſhould be put to death, that he might have nothing to fear from their vengeance. The animoſity that was maintained, between theſe two ſects, occaſioned a ſucceſſion of revolutions in Africa, while they mutually enfeebled each other, and gave the eaſtern provinces the power of ſhaking off the yoke of the kings of Morocco, and electing independent chiefs for themſelves.

Abdulmomen, however, remained maſter of all Mauritania, and preſerved the two

two kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, which had been united under Joſeph Teſſifin. He was alſo able, in 1149, to ſend aid to the Mahometans of Spain, and to permit them to recruit among the mountains of Gomera, between Tetuan and Tremecen. In 1151, the power of this prince being ſtill more firmly eſtabliſhed, the Mahometans of Grenada and of Jaen, who ſtood in need of his ſupport, offered him homage and ſubmiſſion; he accordingly ſent thirty thouſand men to their ſuccour.

This army having been vanquiſhed, Abdulmomen ſent more conſiderable reinforcements, by which the Mahometans of Spain were empowered to prolong the war with ſome ſucceſs. This prince had an intention of going himſelf into Spain with a mighty army, but he died in 1155 during theſe his preparations. The caſtle of Bulahuan, in the province of Duquella, is ſaid to have been built by Abdulmomen; it has ſince been augmented and embelliſhed by a Sharif of the reigning family.

After the death of Abdulmomen, his ſon Joſeph was unanimouſly acknowledged king of Morocco. Joſeph, out of deference to the memory of his father, and alſo to merit the love of his ſubjects, teſtified his averſion to the Chriſtians, and paſſed over into Spain, in 1158, with a powerful army. On his arrival, the Mahometan kings of Andaluſia, as well from reſpect to his power, as to acknowledge the ſervices they received, ſwore fidelity to him, and proclaimed him ſovereign. The kings of Murcia and Valencia, who were more diſtant, were the ſole who did not think proper to ſubmit. Having united his army with that of the Arab Moors in Spain, Joſeph ſeized on ſome places in deſpite of the efforts of Don Sancho III. The nobility who commanded the army of the latter, conſulting their valour only, followed Joſeph to Seville, and gained a victory over him under the walls of that city. Profiting by the diviſions of the Spaniards, Joſeph, the next campaign, obliged the kings of Valencia and Murcia to become his vaſſals.

Joſeph

Joſeph remained at Seville till the year 1168 employed in making incurſions upon the territories of the Chriſtians, or in repelling thoſe which the Chriſtians made on his domains. Receiving information at this time that ſome tribes of the Zenetes had taken advantage of his abſence to raiſe commotions in his African ſtates, he returned thither; and, after having quelled the inſurgents, again came to Spain in 1171 with a powerful army.

Joſeph now obliged all the Mahometan kings to acknowledge him ſovereign, nor was there one who did not pay him homage: he continued to keep up his armies in Spain, where his ſon long commanded during his abſence; he once more returned thither in 1184, and took the city of Sanctaren by aſſault. He was attacked before this place by the armies of the kings of Portugal and Leon, and, falling from his horſe, was killed by the accident; this occaſioned the loſs of the battle, and moſt of the Moors who compoſed his army returned into Africa.

No ſooner was the death of Joſeph known in Africa than ſeveral diviſions aroſe among the Moors; but Abu-Jacob, his ſon, ſurnamed Almonſor, the invincible, and who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of armies, having taken upon him the government of the empire, ſubdued theſe commotions, and was proclaimed Emperor.

The kings of Tunis and Tremecen, who had been feudatory dependents on his anceſtors, and who were deſirous to ſhake off this dependency, endeavoured to incite rebellion among the diſtant tribes that they might embarraſs Jacob. This prince marched with his forces, and, after having reſtored tranquillity, he tranſported thoſe tribes, among whom commotions had been incited, to the centre of his empire, and diſperſed them, through the different provinces of his ſtates, ſo diſtant from each other that they might be unable to reunite. This is a political ſyſtem which all the kings of Morocco have obſerved with reſpect to powerful tribes; and, thus divided, by the prudence or caprice of the ſovereigns,

reigns, theſe tribes have inſenſibly loſt all memory of their origin.

The conduct, courage, and activity, of Jacob, ſoon eſtabliſhed his ſupremacy over the African coaſts as far as Tunis, and at the ſame time preſerved that which had been acquired over the Arab Moors of Spain. Of all the ſovereigns who have reigned in Africa after the Caliphs, he was, beyond diſpute, the moſt powerful; thence happened it that he acquired the ſurname of Almonſor, the invincible, to which might likewiſe be added the magnificent.

Almonſor built the caſtle of Manſooria, at the entrance of the province of Temſena, eight leagues from Sallee, of which ſome ruins ſtill remain; the city of Alcaſſar-Quiber, three leagues from Laracha; that of Alcaſſar-Seguar, ſituated on the ſtraits of Gibraltar, between Tangiers and Ceuta; and the city of Rabat, facing Sallee. After erecting a caſtle toward the ſea for the defence of this laſt place, he built in a vaſt encloſure, ruins of which ſtill exiſt, magnificent palaces, that

time, inſurrections, and the caprices of men, have laid waſte. During ſummer this prince reſided in that beautiful cincture called Guadel, where taſte and ſplendor were alike diſplayed. He alſo employed Rabat as a place of arms, whence he might with facility invade Spain with his forces.

After adding the ſurname of invincible to that of commander of the faithful, Jacob Almonſor paſſed over into Spain with a powerful army; but the ficklenefs of the Moors being incited by his abſence throughout the vaſt ſtates he poſſeſſed in Africa, he was obliged to return without performing any memorable act. Marmol ſays, he left a part of his army under the command of Don Ferdinand Ruis de Caſtro, lieutenant general, who, although a Chriſtian, had entered into his ſervice from motives of diſcontent.

No ſooner had Jacob Almonſor again reduced his ſubjects to ſubordination than he publiſhed the Gazia, or war againſt the infidels, ſimilar to the cruſades

of

of the Chriſtians; the Moors flocked in multitudes to his ſtandard, and he embarked for Spain with a powerful army, where, being landed, he marched toward Toledo. Alphonſo III. coming to oppoſe him was not terrified by the numbers of the Moors, but moſt valorouſly attacked the army of Jacob, which defended itſelf with intrepidity, and which gained a complete victory over the Chriſtians, in ſight of the town of Alarcos, July the eighteenth, 1195. This victorious army had a continuation of ſucceſs till the year 1197, when Almonſor, having ſigned a truce with the king of Caſtile, returned into Africa, where new commotions rendered his preſence neceſſary.

The governor of Morocco, profiting by the abſence of Jacob Almonſor to incite the neighbouring people to revolt, the latter, on his return, found them all in arms. The intimidated rebels, not daring to wait this valiant prince in the open field, ſhut themſelves up in that capital, which he was obliged to beſiege. Almonſor, having paſſed a tedious year under the walls of the

place,

place, determined to ſcale the city; and, animatedly addreſſing his ſoldiers, ſhewed them that, independent of the glory they would acquire in taking Morocco, there was ſtill a more legitimate and more honourable motive, that of recovering their wives and children, who were then in the power of the uſurpers.

Enflamed by his diſcourſe, the beſiegers aſſaulted the city, which was unable to reſiſt their impetuoſity; and, falling furiouſly upon the inhabitants, put all to death they met. Almonſor, that he might chaſtiſe the rebels, even after their death, refuſed them the rites of burial *; and, when he was reminded of the effects which might reſult from putrefaction, ſaid, "Nothing ſmells ſo well as the body "of a dead enemy, and eſpecially of a "traitor."

* The Moors believe that the ſouls of bodies, deprived of the rites of burial, are driven from the abodes of the bleſſed. In fabulous ages it was further believed that the ſouls of ſuch bodies wandered on the banks of Cocytus, and were refuſed admittance into the Eliſian fields

After

After Almonſor had taken Morocco, the governor, having ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle with ſome ſoldiers, mediated his peace by the good offices of a Marabout, whoſe ſanctity was held in veneration; but Almonſor, although he had granted this man pardon, put him to death the moment he had him in his power, and, by the violation of his promiſe, tarniſhed his glory. The Marabout reproached him with his ill faith. I am not, anſwered the prince, obliged to keep my word with thoſe who have forfeited theirs.

According to the Arab hiſtorians, the ſovereign, full of regret for not having obſerved his promiſe, diſappeared, and wandered over the world. The probability is that this prince performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, as a private perſon, in expiation of his crime. His brother, Brahem, governed during his abſence; but, he not returning in the ſpace of a year, his ſon, Mahomet Ben-Naſſer, called alſo Naſſer-Al-Melek Ben-Manſoor, was proclaimed king by the people.

Mahomet Ben-Naſſer, having ſucceeded his father in 1210, confirmed the princes of Africa in the poſſeſſion of their ſtates, and broke the truce which Almonſor had concluded with Alphonſo of Caſtile. This prince being deſirous of extending his conqueſts in Spain, went thither with a powerful army, conquered ſome towns, ravaged their territories, and returned to repoſe under the walls of Cordova. Thither Alphonſo, having received conſiderable reinforcements from the Chriſtian princes, marched to give the king of Morocco battle. The two armies met on the ſixteenth of July, 1212, in the plains of Toloſo, and the Moors ſuffered a total rout. This defeat, beſide humbling the Mahometans, infinitely decreaſed that conſideration in which Mahomet Ben-Naſſer had been held.

After this action Mahomet returned to Africa, and left the command of his army to his brother Aben Saad, living himſelf in a kind of retirement; and, deſpiſed by his ſubjects, who, prejudiced as they were, attributed

tributed the loſs of the battle to his ill conduct and cowardice.

Preyed upon by chagrin, Mahomet Ben-Naſſer died a ſhort time after, and left his empire to Said Barrax, one of his grandſons, againſt whom the governors of the eaſtern provinces of Tremecen and Tunis revolted. Said raiſed an army in ſupport of his authority, but, having been aſſaſſinated by a traitor, the ſpirit of diſcord renewed its progreſs.

After the death of Said, the principal perſons of the Moahedins elected his uncle, Abdel Cader, in his ſtead; but, this prince not having gained the confidence of the people, and finding that, in theſe times of trouble, his party was not ſufficiently powerful, he fled toward Morocco, and the governors of the principal places profited by this momentary weakneſs to divide the empire.

CHAP. IV.

Dynaſty of the Benimerins.

ABDALLAH, governor of Fez, of the race of the Benimerins, was the firſt of that dynaſty who poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign authority. Jacob, his brother, having aſſembled troops, took the cities of Rabat and Anafa, and defeated an army of Moahedins between Fez and Mequinez; his ſucceſſes awed the people, and ſupported the authority of his family in that part of Africa.

After the death of Abdallah, who, from governor of Fez, had become the ſovereign, his ſon, ſtill young, was his ſucceſſor, under the regency of Ben-Joſeph, his uncle; who alſo, in his turn, was ſovereign, his nephew being firſt dead.

Similar

Similar revolutions took place at the ſame time in the provinces of Morocco: that of Tedla, with thoſe of the mountains in its neighbourhood, headed by Mahomet-Budobus, joined with the king of Fez, to aid him againſt Abdel Cader, of the race of the Moahedins. Abdel Cader, informed of this treaty, eſcaped from Morocco at the approach of the rebels; but, having been overtaken in his flight, he was murdered at Sugulmeſſa.

Budobus, now become maſter of thoſe provinces that lay near the capital, thought proper to renounce the alliance he had made with Ben-Joſeph, and further declared war againſt him, in expectation of conquering the kingdom of Fez. A quick termination was put to this war by the death of Budobus, and the defeat of his army. Ben-Joſeph not only preſerved the kingdom of Fez but alſo conquered that of Morocco; and, by this revolution, the Moahedins were wholly deprived of ſovereign power.

The kingdom of Morocco, by this change of its monarchs, which long held the minds of the people in ſuſpence, loſt the ſovereignty of Spain. Thoſe who governed the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and others, in the abſence of the king of Morocco, erected themſelves into ſovereign princes; and, ſeconded by the African troops, that had remained in Andaluſia, were thus enabled to maintain thoſe diviſions, and that diverſity of opinions and intereſts, which were inceſſantly renewed.

Ben-Joſeph, now maſter of Mauritania, eſtabliſhed his authority there the more ſolidly by not occupying himſelf with foreign conqueſts, or government. The affairs of Spain felt ſome relaxation by the truces which were renewed between Caſtile and the Mahometan kings, till the acceſſion of Don Ferdinand, to the throne of Caſtile. War again broke out in 1240, with an obſtinate zeal, and the Mahometans loſt, almoſt in an inſtant, the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, and the greateſt part of Andaluſia.

The

The kings of Grenada and Murcia then called loudly for aſſiſtance of Ben-Joſeph, ſovereign of Fez and Morocco. Alphonſo X., the ſucceſſor of Ferdinand, ſent a fleet, by way of diverſion, to beſiege Sallee in 1261, and the place was taken, but was afterward abandoned on the approach of the king of Fez.

Don Alphonſo being ſolely occupied by his political intereſts in Europe, the king of Grenada took advantage of the truce to make a new alliance with the king of Morocco, to whom he even offered the ſovereignty of his ſtates with the towns of Tariffa and Algeſira, as a ſecurity that he would perform his promiſe, and alſo as places for the debarkment of the troops.

Thus invited, Ben-Joſeph took ſhipping for Spain in 1275, with his army, poſſeſſed himſelf of the two above-named places, committed ravages in the territories of Andaluſia, and then returned into Africa. He ſent his brother, Ottman, the next year with troops, who again brought new havoc. Ben-Joſeph returned himſelf

the following campaign, and his army, united to that of Grenada, gained very decided advantages over that of the Chriſtians. After vanquiſhing the Caſtilian fleet, Ben-Joſeph raiſed the ſiege of Algeſira in 1278, and rebuilt that town in the place where it at preſent ſtands. This prince afterward made a truce with Don Alphonſo, and generouſly granted him aid againſt his ſon, Don Sancho, who, with the conſent of the people, had ſeized on the ſovereign authority.

After the death of Ben-Joſeph he was ſucceeded by his ſon Abu-Said, who, like his father, made ſeveral expeditions into Spain; all of which were unſucceſsful. Having loſt Tariffa, which had been taken by Don Sancho III., he made fruitleſs efforts to recover that place; but, perceiving that his attempts to regain the ſovereignty of Spain exhauſted his revenues, he renounced them in future, and in 1294 reſtored the town of Algeſira to the king of Grenada. The empire of Morocco was, during a time, delivered from wars and revolutions. Abu-Said, occupied ſolely by the

the adminiſtration of his African ſtates, reigned in tranquillity to the year 1303. At his death he was ſucceeded by Abu-Artab-Ben-Said; but neither did he take any part whatever in the Mahometan wars of Spain: his ſucceſſor, indeed, Joſeph-Ben-Jacob, in 1318, appears to have ſent ſuccours to the king of Grenada, who ceded ſome places to him, of which his troops took poſſeſſion.

After the death of Joſeph-Ben-Jacob, king of Fez and Morocco, his two ſons, Abul-Haſſen and Said, made war on each other for the ſucceſſion. Said, having been vanquiſhed, withdrew to the king of Grenada, and his brother, Abul-Haſſen, was proclaimed. The latter took offence at the aſylum given by the king of Grenada to Said, and ſhewed tokens of his reſentment; on which the king of Grenada determined to paſs over into Barbary, in 1330, that he might come to an explanation with this prince.

This voyage had the moſt fortunate ſucceſs, for the king of Grenada, after having removed

removed all the ſuſpicions of Abul-Haſſen, obtained from him a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by his ſon Abdelmelek, who went in 1333, landed at Algeſira, took poſſeſſion of that place, and was there acknowledged ſovereign. This army, protected by a fleet, afterward ſeized on Gibraltar, which the Spaniards, in vain, attempted to retake.

The war, which ſome years after broke out between the king of Tremecen and Abul-Haſſen, obliged the latter to recall his his ſon Abdelmelek, with his troops. To theſe were likewiſe added a detachment, ſent by the king of Grenada, who had made a truce with Caſtile. This war was unfortunate to the king of Tremecen, who, with his kingdom, loſt all he poſſeſſed toward Sugulmeſſa. The king of Fez, profiting by his victory, purſued his conqueſts as far as Algiers and Tunis, which he again brought under the ſubjection of the kings of Fez and Morocco.

Inflated with ſucceſs, Abul-Haſſen reſolved to recommence the Mooriſh expeditions

ditions into Spain, hoping there to recover the dominion his predeceſſors had enjoyed; for this purpoſe he ſent troops, ſtores, arms, and ammunition, under the conduct of his ſon Abdelmelek. Abdelmelek committed many ravages on the territories of Andaluſia, but the Chriſtians were able to repulſe his attacks; and, after ſeveral campaigns, in which the advantages were nearly equal, his army was attacked and routed by the Caſtilians. Abdelmelek, having found an opportunity to fly on foot, perceiving the approach of Chriſtians, counterfeited death, and the latter coming up gave him two wounds with their lances, of which he died in reality. The body of this prince was tranſported into Barbary, and inhumed at Shella, near Rabat, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

The death of Abdelmelek afflicted the king of Fez ſo deeply that he determined to go and take perſonal vengeance on the Spaniards. For this purpoſe he fitted out more than two hundred veſſels at Ceuta, in 1340, which, in deſpite of the efforts of the king of Caſtile, being favoured by circum-

circumſtances, met no obſtacle in the ſhort paſſage from the coaſt of Africa to the coaſt of Spain. Beſide his troops, he took with him many Mooriſh families, who were to people ſome towns round Malaga. The Mooriſh fleet, being in the bay of Gibraltar, was attacked by the fleet of Caſtile, but which, being by no means ſo powerful, was totally defeated.

The kings of Fez and Grenada, at the head of a mighty army, firſt laid ſiege to Tariffa; but the kings of Caſtile and Protugal, with their combined forces, marched to the relief of that place, and attacked and defeated the Mahometan army near Rio-Salado; which afterward retreated to Algeſira. The king of Fez, fearing he ſhould be there beſieged, immediately embarked for Ceuta.

That he might revenge the Mohometan defeat at the battle of Rio-Salado, Abul-Haſſen again made great preparations of troops and ſtores to return into Spain. His fleet, united with that of his allies, was attacked in port, and he loſt about

twelve

twelve veſſels; but this check did not prevent the remainder of the fleet from ſetting ſail: this, however, being once more attacked in the Strait by the combined fleet of the Chriſtians, was entirely defeated; the invaſion of the Mahometans was thus prevented, and, notwithſtanding every effort of the king of Fez and Morocco, Algeſira was taken, in March 1344, and a ten years truce concluded.

The expences which had been incurred by Abul-Haſſen to ſupport theſe his attempts in Spain, and the ill ſucceſs that followed, occaſioned his ſubjects to murmur, as is the cuſtom of nations, that judge only from appearances. Abdalharaman, one of the king's ſons, ſeized this moment of diſcontent to revolt, and drew over ſeveral tribes to his ſide. Don Alphonſo, in the mean time, broke the truce in Spain, where he attacked the Mahometans. Abul-Haſſen, although he had ſtifled the rebellion, found his own ſtates in too critical a ſituation to admit of his going in perſon to aſſiſt the Mahometans of Spain. He ſent his ſon, Abu-Ali, thither, with a body of troops, to aid

aid Gibraltar, which the king of Caſtile beſieged in 1349; the troops of Morocco, however, could effect nothing, but were obliged to repaſs the ſtrait, a rebellion having been once more raiſed by Abu-Hennon, another of the ſons of Abul-Haſſen. The king was unfortunate in this civil war, and was obliged to retire into the province of Sugulmeſſa, his ſon having ſeized on his kingdom.

Abu-Hennon was an ambitious prince, and deſirous of eſtabliſhing his fame with his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he prepared formidable armaments for the invading of Spain. His father took advantage of theſe preparations to attempt recovering his domains, and, aſſembling ſome troops round Sugulmeſſa, aſſaulted and ſubjected various cities of the kingdom of Fez. The projects of Abu-Hennon were ſuſpended by this diverſion; but, having overcome his father in 1354, near the mountains of Fez, he remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of his ſtates, and preſerved his ſupremacy over the ſmall kingdoms of the coaſt from Tremecen to Tunis. This

prince

prince entered into a negotiation with Peter the cruel, who had aſcended the throne of Caſtile, and who, from political motives, was diſpoſed to favour the rebellion of Abu-Hennon. The latter, at length, in full enjoyment of peace, embelliſhed the city of Fez with ſome edifices, and built a college there, which ſtill bears his name.

Abu-Hennon died in 1409, and his ſon, Abu-Said, was his ſucceſſor. Addicted to pleaſure and debauchery, this prince occupied himſelf too little with the care of his own eſtates to think of ſuccouring the Mahometans of Spain; he even neglected to fortify, or ſend aid, to Ceuta, which was beſieged and taken in 1415 by Don John, king of Portugal; the neighbouring Moors united to recover the place, but their attempts were unſucceſsful, as well from their ignorance, in the art of beſieging towns, as from the ſkill with which they were repulſed by Don Henry, ſon to the king of Portugal.

The cities of Spain, which had been under the government of Abu-Said, ſeeing they

they were to expect no aſſiſtance whatever from him, were reunited to the Mahometan kingdom of Grenada, Gibraltar alone remaining in the poſſeſſion of the king of Fez. Hither Abu-Said ſent his brother Said with ſome troops, as well to preſerve that place, and to recover others that had been loſt, as to remove Said, whoſe valour and eminent qualities made him remarked by the people, and who ſoon or late might become a dangerous rival.

This expedition was unſucceſsful, the king of Grenada having beſieged Gibraltar, Said, in vain, demanded ſuccours from his brother, who ſaw, with ſecret pleaſure, the difficulties in which he was involved. Said notwithſtanding defended himſelf with the utmoſt fortitude; but, having been conquered, he was taken priſoner to Grenada, where his brother wiſhed he might be put to death. The king of Grenada, more politic, preſerved the life of this prince, as well out of reſpect to his birth as in the hope of being able to make him a party in thoſe inſurrections which ſo often divided the Moors of Africa.

Future

Future events juſtified the foreſight of the king of Grenada: the Moors of Fez, offended at the conduct of their ſovereign, rebelled againſt him, and he was ſtabbed by his Vizier, who, at the ſame time, aſſaſſinated his children. The kingdom of Fez fell into the greateſt diſorder in conſequence of the death of this prince; the people lived ſome time totally independant, each province and each tribe governing itſelf according to its will. The king of Grenada profited by this ſtate of anarchy to ſend over Said into Barbary with troops, and thus to inſure his friendſhip and alliance; but this Prince had many difficulties to encounter, having a competitor in Jacob, one of his brothers, whoſe ſtandard had been followed by the principal tribes, which occaſioned open war between theſe two princes.

The kingdom of Fez, troubled by theſe civil broils, remained eight years without a ſovereign, when, in 1423, a ſon of Abu-Said appeared, named Abdallah, with whom his mother had fled to Tunis. Abdallah was received with the greater joy

 becauſe

becauſe that the people, divided in their choice of a prince, thought it their duty to reunite in favour of one whom Providence ſeemed miraculouſly to have preſerved, that their calamities might find a period. The uncles of Abdallah Said and Jacob approved the nation's choice, and relinquiſhed the throne.

Abdallah reigned with juſtice for ſome years; but, at length, he impoſed ſo many vexatious and tyrannical oppreſſions, on his people, that they were incited to revolt. In the midſt of the civil commotions which enſued, an inhabitant of Fez, who was a Sharif, and who bore the name, ſlew the king Abdallah, who was the laſt of the family of the Benimerins, and was proclaimed in his ſtead.

All the grandees attached to the Dynaſty of the Benimerins roſe againſt the uſurper, and an obſtinate war enſued. Muley Shaik, one of the generals who was at the head of this party, and who commanded toward Arzilla, preſented himſelf before Fez to beſiege the city; but, having

ing been vanquiſhed by the Sharif, he retired into his government. The Sharif then ſent an army into Temſena to ſubject that province; and Muley Shaik, while the Sharif was thus weakened, made a ſecond attempt upon Fez, in which he beſieged the Sharif.

Don Alphonſo, of Portugal, deſirous of profiting by the inteſtine diſtractions of the empire, appeared before Arzilla with his fleet, and took it in 1471. Muley Shaik, being informed of this, departed from the blockade of Fez to go and ſuccour Arzilla, which, as well as Tangiers, he found taken on his arrival. The Mooriſh prince then determined to make a truce with the king of Portugal, that he might once more undertake the ſiege of Fez; and he accordingly obliged the Sharif to abandon that city.

Muley Shaik, now become maſter of the capital and the appending monarchy, was the firſt of the kings of the race called Merini, the deſcendants of a branch of the Benimerins. The dominion of the Me-

rini only extended over the kingdom of Fez, becauſe, in theſe diſcordant times, the provinces of Morocco, Suz, Sugulmeſſa, and others, were ſubjected to other ſovereigns, who found themſelves capable of maintaining their independence.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Sharifs of the Merini — Troubles that happened under their reign.

THE family of Merini, which is alſo called Beni-Aotas, was ſo lightly eſteemed that it was not able to render its authority reſpectable in the kingdom of Fez. Independent of thoſe provinces which had ſhaken off obedience, there were cities that were governed within themſelves, or by the authority of chiefs which they had elected. The Portugueſe, who already had got footing on the coaſt, profiting by the weakneſs of theſe ſmall governments and their internal diviſions, poſſeſſed themſelves of various places, and inſenſibly extended their conqueſts. Several tribes of Moors, from animoſity, or provoked by the ambition of their chiefs, rather choſe to

become the allies of the Portugueſe, than to remain dependant on numerous maſters, who reciprocally depoſed each other.

The kingdoms of Fez and Morocco continued in this kind of anarchy till the beginning of the ſixteenth century; and the race of Merini, whoſe power was feeble, reigned only over the city of Fez and the neighbouring provinces. At this time a Moor, of the province of Dara, whoſe name was Mahomet-Ben-Achmet, calling himſelf a Sharif and deſcendant of the Prophet, perceiving that the contentions which exiſted in the provinces might favour a revolution; and knowing, alſo, the aſcendant which religion has over the minds of the vulgar, thought proper to employ theſe means to accompliſh his projects of ambition.

This Sharif ſent his three ſons, Abdel-Quiber, Achmet, and Mohamet, in 1508, on pilgrimage to Mecca, that they might thereby acquire the greater conſideration. Theſe young men, on their return, affecting all the exterior of religion, were moſt reſpectfully

reſpectfully received by the Moors, who flocked after them in crouds, conteſted who firſt ſhould touch their garments, and venerated them as ſaints, who were come to conſole them amid their afflictions.

The ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm of the people raiſed their fame ſo high that, when they returned into their province, the father, without heſitation, ſent the two youngeſt to Fez to make themſelves known in that metropolis, famous for its ſcience and religion. The eldeſt of theſe two became the head of the firſt college, and the king confided the education of his children to the younger.

When the reputation of theſe Sharifs was well eſtabliſhed, their father, who ſlowly purſued projects which had been deeply laid, engaged them to repreſent to the king of Fez the calamities which reſulted from the diviſions among the Moors, and thoſe which were in future to be dreaded in conſequence of their alliance with the Portugueſe, who, ſoon or late,

would ſeize on their wealth, and reduce their perſons to ſlavery.

They artfully inſinuated to this prince how glorious it would be to himſelf, and how conducive to the proſperity of religion, could he unite all the Mahometans to repel, and drive theſe foreigners from the ſtates. This enterprize might be crowned with ſucceſs, according to their flattering repreſentations, would he permit them to traverſe the provinces with a drum and a ſtandard, awaken the ſpirit of religion among the people, inſtruct them in their true intereſts, and incite them to riſe in arms againſt the Chriſtians. Acknowledging this prince as their legitimate ſovereign, they requeſted he would beſtow on them ſome mark of authority which might give credit to, and make their miſſion reſpectable in the ſouthern provinces, where the Portugueſe were ſo powerful.

The king of Fez, who had no authority in theſe ſouthern provinces, and who had no ſuſpicion that the intentions of the Sharifs were inimical to himſelf, granted their

their requeſt, in contradiction to the repreſentations made to him by his brother, Muley Naſſer, who, better informed than he was concerning former revolutions, affected by the Morabethoon and the Moahedins, under the veil of religion, propheſied evil from this project of the Sharifs, and foreſaw in it more of ambition than of zeal. Neglecting this advice, the king of Fez granted them a drum, ſome ſoldiers to protect them, and royal mandates diſplaying the object of their miſſion. The two Sharifs entered the province of Duquella, and paſſed through the others till they came to that of Suz, in every place exciting the enthuſiaſm of the people againſt the Portugueſe, whoſe ambition they failed not to exaggerate.

Politically conſidered, this miſſion was neceſſary, ſince, on one ſide of the coaſt, the Portugueſe, in 1508, were maſters of Saffi, and had made alliance with the moſt powerful of the neighbouring tribes, while, on the other, the Duke of Braganza, in 1513, had lately taken Azamora, inſomuch that, from thence to Santa Cruz, the coaſt

coaſt for more than a hundred leagues was in their power toward the ſouth, independent of the towns of Arzilla, Tangiers, and Ceuta, which they poſſeſſed to the north. In this critical ſituation, the empire being enfeebled and divided as it then was, they might moſt eaſily have conquered the whole coaſt; all which perfectly juſtified thoſe alarms which the Sharifs ſpread, although their perſonal motives had a very different tendency.

The miſſion of the Sharifs had every effect which might reaſonably be expected, and, under the pretence of the defence of religion, a number of tribes, that were then governed by themſelves, eagerly joined their ſtandard. Money being neceſſary to the Sharifs for the maintenance of theſe armies, the tribes granted them the tenth, as ordained by the Koran, which gave them a ſemblance of ſovereign power.

The city of Tarudant, which had been ravaged by the wandering tribes, acknowledged the old Sharif for its chief, and enabled

bled him alſo to maintain ſome troops. Thus aided, Mahomet-Ben-Achmet fortified himſelf in Tarudant, pretending thereby to free himſelf from the dominion of the Portugueſe, and impede their incurſions. Succoured by the Moors of Suz and Dara, he was preſently able to make war on the tribes near Cape Aguer, or Santa-Cruz, and alſo to enter the provinces of Hea, Duquella, and Temſena, where the people, as much moved by his ſermons as terrified by his arms, acknowledged him their ſovereign, under the modeſt title of Prince of Hea.

The Portugueſe, and Moors of the environs of Saffi, their allies, made incurſions at the ſame time into the province of Duquella, and ſpread terror to the very walls of Morocco: the old Sharif alone oppoſed their progreſs; but, dying during the time he was warring with them, he left the accompliſhment of his projects to the care of his ſons.

Theſe princes, having by their arts obtained the people's veneration, and who were

were as exact in paying their tenths as they were prompt at obedience, gradually extended their power. They remained with their forces between Saffi and Morocco to oppoſe the incurſions of the Portugueſe, whom, in various actions, they repulſed; but their advantages were, in ſome ſort, balanced by the death of Abdel-Quiber, the eldeſt of the three brothers, who fell in battle.

The Sharifs, having formed the deſign of ſeizing on Morocco, made an alliance with Naſſer Buſhentuf, who commanded in that city, and held the neighbouring tribes in dependence. This governor, having made himſelf ſovereign, received the Sharifs in Morocco, reſpecting their piety, and in the hope that he himſelf might find his advantage in their alliance. This confidence became fatal to Naſſer Buſhentuf, for his death quickly followed, which happened on returning from a hunting party with one of the Sharifs, who has been accuſed of having given him a poiſoned biſcuit. Achmet, the eldeſt of theſe princes, who had remained in Mo-

rocco, profited ſo well by his death, that, aided by the principal men of the city, whoſe friendſhip he had gained, he was proclaimed king.

Muley Achmet, now king of Morocco, ſent information of his election to the king of Fez, and, in gratitude for the ſervices he had received from the latter, affirmed, he only intended to govern under his authority, and paying him feudal homage. This quieted the fears of the king, and gave Muley Achmet time to eſtabliſh his power.

Morocco and its environs being thus ſubjected to the Sharifs, they, by artifices, endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of other provinces, and with ſuch adroitneſs did they foment factions that, when the different parties made war on each other, each of them depended on the aſſiſtance of the Sharifs, ſhould either need their aid. Theſe princes, however, who had only raiſed diſſentions that they might enfeeble the tribes, put their troops in motion, fell upon them, totally defeated them, plundered

dered their Douhars, and returned to Morocco victorious, and enriched with ſpoils. Their victories ſpread terror among the people, and the province of Duquella and its environs were thus ſubjected.

Become more powerful, the Sharifs now freed themſelves from that acknowledgement of ſuperiority which they had voluntarily paid to the king of Fez, only ſending him ſome ſmall preſents as they pleaſed, which were leſs to be conſidered as tributes than as tokens of friendſhip. The king of Fez complained of their inattention, but his death ſoon after happened, and his ſon, who had been the diſciple of the Sharif Mohamet, diſſembled, and confirmed the uſurpers in their principalities, on condition of ſome ſmall acknowledgement.

After the death of the king of Fez the ambition of the Sharifs increaſed with their power; they artfully allied themſelves with the chiefs of tribes in the environs of that city, that they might ſow diviſion; and, not only refuſed to ſubmit to the

the leaſt homage, but, ſent to inform the new king, their benefactor and ſovereign, that, being deſcendants of Mahomet, they had a more inconteſtible right than any perſon whatever to the Mahometan throne.

The two brothers at the ſame time divided their conqueſts; the eldeſt, Muley Achmet, retained Morocco; Muley Mohamet took up his reſidence at Tarudant, by which they could mutually ſuccour each other againſt the Portugueſe and their allies, who were maſters of moſt of the weſtern coaſt, from the cape of Aguer to the province of Duquella incluſive.

The king of Fez, who had too long connived at the perfidious conduct of the Sharifs, reſolved, though ſomewhat late, to make them repent of their ingratitude, and, with two pieces of cannon, went in perſon to beſiege Morocco. His army, not being ſufficiently numerous to inveſt the city, could not prevent Muley Mohamet from throwing in ſuccours, which he brought from Tarudant. This ſame Sha-

rif

rif made a ſally, a few days after, with his troops, and fell on the camp of the king of Fez with ſo much intrepidity that he forced his army to retreat, leaving the field of battle covered with the ſlain.

After this check the king of Fez was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, as much for want of ſufficient force as to go and re-eſtabliſh order in his own kingdom, where his brother, Muley Meſſaoot, profiting by his abſence and ill fortune, had raiſed an inſurrection. He was followed in his retreat by the Sharifs, who attacked his rear-guard, which they came up with in the province of Eſcura; after which, paſſing into that of Tedla, and coaſting the mountains, they obliged the people, ſubjects to the king of Fez, to pay them contributions.

Having appeaſed the revolt, incited by Muley Meſſaoot, the king of Fez, more than ever enraged againſt the Sharifs, marched once again to beſiege Morocco. The Sharifs likewiſe marched to meet him, though with an inferior army, and waited for him on the banks of the river of negroes

to

to diſpute his paſſage. The king of Fez, arriving at the oppoſite ſhore, encamped likewiſe, and the two armies obſerved each other for ſome days; at length, the king determined to attempt the paſſage; he divided his army into three corps, gave the command of the firſt to Abu-Abdallah, king of Grenada, who, having loſt his own kingdom, had taken refuge with the king of Fez, the ſecond to his brother-in-law, and headed the third himſelf.

The king of Grenada, having with him the ſon of the king of Fez, paſſed firſt; and, as he proceeded to the middle of the ford, and his van-guard began to aſcend the banks of the river, where the land was high, the king of Suz attacked this van-guard with ſo much valour that it was defeated: the ſon of the king of Fez was killed, as alſo was the king of Grenada. This prince, who never had expoſed his life in defence of his own kingdom, loſt it on this occaſion in defence of another; the confuſion among the ſoldiers

was ſo great that the van-guard of the king of Fez, forced back in the river, overwhelmed thoſe who were coming to their aſſiſtance, and they thus mutually drowned each other. The king of Fez, not having yet begun the paſſage with his detachment, ſeeing the diſorder irretrievable, retired with ſo much haſte that he abandoned his wives, baggage and artillery, took the road to Tedla, and returned to Fez.

This victory, which highly influenced the vulgar opinion, was ſo favourable to the Sharifs, that they were emboldened to greater undertakings, and determined the following year to paſs mount Atlas with numerous forces, where they ſeized on the kingdom of Tafilet. On their return they raiſed contributions on the provinces of Fez, left troops in them, and forced thoſe of the king of Fez to retire. After this ſucceſs, Muley Mohamet left his brother at Morocco, and returned to Tarudant. In 1536, this prince came before Aguadier, or Santa Cruz, then in the power of the Portugueſe; the ſiege of this place was

ſomewhat long, but it was obliged at laſt to capitulate. The power of the Sharifs was ſtill farther extended after this conqueſt, becauſe that the Moors, who had been allies of the Portugueſe, unable longer to receive aid from them, determined to pay homage to theſe princes.

This increaſe of dominion, which every where embroils nations, became at length a ſubject of diſcord between the Sharifs. Muley Achmet the eldeſt, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of Morocco, had ceded that of Suz to his brother Muley Mohamet, on condition of ſome tribute being paid; but the latter, whoſe valour, and other qualities, had rendered him the moſt popular, felt how eaſy it would be for him to rid himſelf of this dependence; and, inſtead of remitting his brother the fifth of the ſpoils he had made during the laſt campaign, thought proper to ſend a ſmaller part. This offended the king of Morocco, who imagined he had a right to preſcribe ſuch homage as he pleaſed. Muley Mohamet refuſed compliance, and explana-

tions enſued between the brothers, which did but incite new aggravation, and each of them began to commit hoſtilities on the domains of the other till war became almoſt inevitable.

To prevent the conſequent calamities, a Moor, who was held in veneration, perſuaded the two brothers to an interview, which gave occaſion to an irreconcileable hatred. Muley Achmet treacherouſly endeavoured to ſtrangle his brother as they embraced, but the latter, more adroit, eſcaped the danger; and, now become open enemies, they prepared for war.

Muley Achmet immediately ſent his ſon, Muley Sidan, with troops into the province of Dara, which appertained to the kingdom of Suz, there to levy contributions. Muley Mohamet, on his part, oppoſed theſe hoſtilities, and different actions enſued betweeen the armies of the two princes, in which fortune generally was in favour of the king of Morocco. The loſſes of Muley Mohamet did not, however, diſhearten him, but rather ſerved farther

ther to raiſe his courage. Having aſſembled the governors of provinces, and the chiefs of tribes, he rehearſed to them his brother's acts of injuſtice, and ſo effectually inſpired them with a dread of his tyranny that they all ſwore eternal fidelity to Muley Mohamet. After receiving their proteſtations, the ſovereign gave them aſſurance, holding by his beard in token of a vow *, that, if they would be as faithful as they promiſed, he would vanquiſh his brother, and lead him priſoner to Tarudant.

The two armies ſoon took the field, each endeavouring to profit by every kind of ſtratagem to ſurprize the other. Having, at length, met at the entrance of a valley, that of the king of Suz, which was upon the height, aſſaulted the army of the king of Morocco with ſuch impetuoſity that it was obliged to give ground, and the

* When the Moors hold by their beards, while they ſwear, it gives ſtrength to the oath, which, after this formality, they rarely violate.

cavalry, being ſo confined as to be unable either to form itſelf or act, the ſoldiers were obliged to alight from their horſes, that they might eſcape with greater facility.

During the rout the king of Morocco, and his ſon Muley Boeza, were made priſoners, and conducted to Tarudant; but his eldeſt ſon, Muley Sidan, after collecting the remains of the army, retreated to Morocco. In this extremity the inhabitants of this city thought the beſt means were to negociate, and, after council held, Muley Sidan ſent his wife to the king of Suz, his uncle, to effect an accommodation, and implore his clemency. The princeſs pleaded ſo effectually that Muley Mohamet granted his brother freedom, on condition that they ſhould divide their conqueſts. There were many other clauſes in their treaty, but, it was ſo little obſerved, that, to recite them, would be ſuperfluous.

The king of Morocco, once again returned to his ſtates, proteſted againſt the validity of the treaty, affirmed that, it having

having been made while he was a priſoner, it could neither injure his rights nor thoſe of his deſcendants, who, by their birth, had a legitimate claim over his domains, which it was not in his power, by any renunciation, to take from them. After ſuch a proteſtation the two brothers, equally irritated, again made diſpoſitions for war, and the king of Suz paſſed Mount Atlas, by haſty marches, to invade the territories of Morocco.

The two armies met, ſeven leagues from that capital, on the nineteenth of Auguſt, 1544; and Muley Mohamet attacked his brother with ſo much valour that he totally defeated his army, and purſued it to the very gates of Morocco.

Here he ſummoned the inhabitants to deliver up the city, if they would not expoſe themſelves to all the rigours of war; and the governor, having received no tidings of his maſter, ſuppoſing he might have been taken or ſlain, and not daring to defend the place, repreſented to the in-

habitants that, Suz and Morocco being governed by princes of the ſame blood, it was but juſt that he ſhould open the gates. Muley Mohamet, on his entrance, was ſaluted by the people as their ſovereign.

After having viſited the fortreſs, and placed guards in every part, the prince entered the palace of his brother, where all was in confuſion; the treaſury was pillaging; the wives and daughters of Muley Achmet were ſolely occupied, during the tumult, to conceal what they poſſeſſed moſt precious; but the prince ſoon quieted their fears, and took care at the ſame time to ſecure the treaſury.

Muley Achmet, who had loſt himſelf during the night, arrived while theſe things paſſed, with few followers, at the private gate of the palace, where he knocked aloud. He was anſwered from the top of the walls, and adviſed to fly, for that his brother was maſter of the city. Accordingly this prince retired immediately to the ſanctuary of Sidi-Abdallah-Ben-Ceſſi, as to an inviolable aſylum.

From

from this place Muley Sidan and Muley Boeza went to Fez, to intreat aſſiſtance from the king, who beheld, with ſecret ſatisfaction, the diviſions of thoſe Sharifs, whoſe perfidy he himſelf had proved, and therefore promiſed aid to the moſt feeble, hoping by this means he ſhould be enabled to deſtroy the moſt mighty.

The conſecrated perſons appertaining to the ſanctuary where Muley Achmet had fled for refuge, were buſied in their endeavours to procure an interview between the two brothers, which accordingly, in a few days, took place. Muley Mohamet, who, on ſimilar occaſions, had made proof of the ill faith of his brother, took his precautions, and received him in his tent, as well as his children, with his ſabre in his hand; theſe ſaluted their uncle, and proſtrated themſelves before him to embrace his knees. Muley Achmet approached the laſt, and his brother went to receive him at the entrance of his tent, where they embraced, wept, and remained for ſometime ſilent.

Muley Mohamet, at length, reproached his brother concerning the little faith with which he had obſerved the treaty concluded at Tarudant, adding that, to this his breach of faith, more criminal in kings than even in other men, he muſt attribute his misfortunes; that Providence had deſpoiled him of his ſtates but to revenge his having broken a promiſe, pledged; that, being his elder brother, he had ever treated him as his ſuperior and ſovereign, and that, ungrateful as his conduct had been, he ſhould ſtill continue ſo to do; but that, having given his word to the inhabitants of Morocco not to ſuffer him any more to enter the city, he could not break it, leſt he ſhould thereby incur ſimilar reproaches; it therefore appeared moſt proper that he ſhould, for a time, retire to Tafilet with his ſons, and there await a better deſtiny; that they ought to regard the conqueſts they had already made, with the aid of the Almighty, as harbingers of ſtill greater ſucceſs. Muley Achmet made ſome reply, in his own juſtification, and, confiding in the generoſity of his brother, took the way to Tafilet.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, thus become maſter of the ſouth of the empire, put himſelf in a condition to make Muley Oatas Merini, king of Fez, repent the kind reception he had granted his nephews. Seeking a quarrel with him, he demanded the province of Tedla as appertaining to the kingdom of Morocco, and at the ſame time ſent his ſecond ſon, Muley Abdel Cader, with troops to levy contributions, and beſiege a caſtle, which was in that province. This caſtle, which was well defended, was vigorouſly attacked by the young prince, who yet was unable to take it, the king of Fez having come to its relief.

Hearing this, Muley Mohamet aſſembled all the cavalry of Suz and Morocco, marched in perſon toward Tedla, and joined the troops that were under his ſon's command. The army of the king of Fez was ſuperior to that of the king of Morocco; but, being compoſed, in part, of the inhabitants of Fez, who were fickle of temper, not inured to war, but rather accuſtomed to effeminacy and pleaſures, this army was daily weakened by deſertion.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, well acquainted with the levity of the people of Fez, eluded action as long as he thought convenient, till, at length, determined to give battle, he harangued his troops, and declared, that, deſiring only to fight with men who were determined on victory, he gave liberty to all thoſe to retire who felt they wanted this reſolution; that, perſuaded as he was, men, bred in the city of Fez, though ſuperior in numbers, were unable to ſtand before ſoldiers ſo courag-ous as thoſe he commanded, he intended to give battle, confiding in their valour, and not doubting but that the victory would render him the greateſt ſovereign of Africa.

Animated by this diſcourſe, the ſoldiers called aloud to be led to the enemy, and, on the next morning, the army advanced in order of battle. This order was in the form of a creſcent, according to the cuſtom of the Moors; the two extremities of which were commanded, the one by Muley Meſſaoot, the king's ſon, and the other by the Alcade Mumen, ſon of a Genoeſe renegado; the king was in the centre with

his other children, having the Arquebuſiers in his front, and the artillery drawn by peaſants, or carried by mules.

The two armies remained facing each other without beginning the attack; the Sharif had commanded that no motion ſhould be made till the ſignal had been given; the heat of the day was exceſſive, and the prince artfully waited till the ſun was on the decline; and at the moment when, being behind his army, it ſhone in the face of his enemies, the firing of a cannon was the ſignal of attack, and this was made with ſuch impetuoſity, and ſucceſs, that the army of the king of Fez was immediately put to rout. As this prince was riding to paſs the river of Derna, and rally his flying forces, his horſe fell, and he and his ſon, Muley Buker, were made priſoners. All the troops of Fez, that compoſed the main body of the army, retired in diſorder. Muley Buhaſon, Prince and Lord of Gomera, in the province of Rif, who commanded a detachment, was the only Moor who fought courageouſly, and retired in good order.

A de-

A detachment of Turks, commanded by a reſolute Perſian, intrenched behind a battery, likewiſe prevented the victorious Moors from ſurrounding them. The Sharif, aſtoniſhed at the valour of theſe foreigners, offered to take them into his ſervice on the ſame conditions they had enjoyed under the king of Fez. The Perſian general accepted the propoſal for himſelf, and ſuch of his detachment as thought proper to follow him, provided the king of Morocco would pledge his word for their ſafety. Muley Mohamet ſent his ring by one of his ſons, and the Perſian general entered into his ſervice with thoſe of his ſoldiers who were not married at Fez; the reſt laid down their arms and retreated.

After he had reſtored order in the camp, Muley Mohamet ſent for Muley Oatas, king of Fez, and conſoled him in his misfortunes, which, he ſaid, muſt be attributed to the ſins that were openly committed at Fez without reprehenſion. The king of Fez, enfeebled as he was by his wounds, aſſumed ſtrength enough to reply, that it was

was not always in the power of the ſovereign to extirpate habitual and rooted vices, and that, be the irregularity in his adminiſtration what it might, it did not thence reſult that he had a right to make war upon him, and ſeize upon his ſtates, more eſpecially when the benefits were remembered which he had received from his father. An agreement was afterward made between the Sharif and the king of Fez, that the latter and his ſon ſhould be reſtored to liberty, for which he ſhould yield up the city of Mequinez.

The Sharif took the road to Fez to enforce this agreement, but Muley Buhaſon, who had entered Fez with the remains of the army, beholding the confuſion there was in the city, while it remained without a monarch, had Muley Caſſari, a young ſon of the king, proclaimed, on condition that he ſhould reſtore the crown to his father ſo ſoon as he ſhould recover his liberty. The king of Morocco mean while came and encamped, with his army, four leagues from Fez, whence he diſpatched letters from the king, his priſoner, to his mother and

the principal men of the city, that they ſhould put Mequinez into his power; but Buhaſon, who directed in Fez, occaſioned the anſwer to be delayed, that he might ſhut up the Sharif, between the army of Fez and another which was raiſing at Mequinez. Being informed of this, the the king of Morocco decamped before the paſſes were ſeized, taking with him his priſoners.

Muley Mohamet, having gained intelligence of the diſſenſions among the Moors in the environs of Fez, profited by theſe, in 1548, to ſend troops thither, the command of which he beſtowed on his two eldeſt ſons, Muley Haram and Muley Abdel Cader, who committed ſome ravages round Alcaſſar and Mequinez. This diverſion, and the want of concord throughout the government of the north, further ſhook the wavering faith of the towns, and tribes of the kingdom of Fez, who were half in commotion, and who were with difficulty reſtrained from rebellion. In this conjuncture the Moors, who were by profeſſion ſaints, interfered, as uſual, to pacify the people;

people; and it was at length agreed that the city of Mequinez ſhould be given to Muley Mohamet, on condition that the king of Fez ſhould be reſtored to liberty, which was accordingly performed; but the Sharif exacted a promiſe from the king, before his departure, that, whenever he ſhould make the demand, he would alſo yield him the city of Fez.

The king being come to Fez, his ſon reſtored him the government; but Muley Mohamet, who would not give him time to re-eſtabliſh his authority, appeared before the metropolis about two months afterward, of which he demanded the poſſeſſion. The king of Fez anſwered that his ſon, and the inhabitants, would not ſuffer this, and therefore it was not in his power to comply. The Sharif was ſo enraged, by this meſſage, that he cauſed the ambaſſador who brought it to be beheaded, and ſent a detachment of cavalry to the very gates of the city to commit hoſtilities; but this detachment was beaten, and forced to retreat.

Muley Mohamet then repaired to Mequinez, whence he ſent for two of his ſons to join him with what troops they could aſſemble in Morocco, and the ſouthern provinces; after which he marched to meet this reinforcement, and encamped near the river Seboo. The different actions that happened between the troops of the king of Fez, and thoſe of the king of Morocco, were to the advantage of the latter, who marched toward Fez and blockaded the city. Some ſallies were made by the king of Fez, which made but little impreſſion, while the inhabitants, in want of proviſions, went by hundreds to the Sharif, who received them with open arms, and further ſtraitened his lines to cut off all communication. After a long ſiege, the inhabitants gave up the place to the Sharif, who, for form ſake, beat down a part of the walls, and entered the city unknown to the king, who was then in New Fez

The news being brought him, this prince flew to recover his capital; the two parties fought from ſtreet to ſtreet with equal rage, and he would even have recovered

vered Fez, had not the people, according to their uſual inconſtancy, declared themſelves for the Sharif, and forced his troops to retire. Without ſubjects, and without ſoldiers, the king rather choſe to ſubmit to the clemency of the conqueror than to abandon his crown, his wives, and children. The king of Morocco, however, took poſſeſſion of the city and caſtle of Fez, married one of the king's daughters, and ſent him and his children to Morocco and Tarudant, where he cauſed them to be aſſaſſinated. Such was the tragical end of the houſe of Merini, and ſuch the ingratitude and perfidy it received from thoſe Sharifs which itſelf had raiſed, and who, having ſtripped it of its poſſeſſions, and exterminated its race, ſoon themſelves felt the viciſſitudes of fortune.

CHAP. VI.

The Revolutions of the Sharifs.

AFTER having ſeized on the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mohamet ſent his brother, Muley Achmet, into the deſert, with a part of his family, that he might have nothing to fear from his ambition. The change of government in Fez, however, ſoon raiſed troubles in the northern provinces, which obeyed with repugnance a prince who had depoſed their rightful ſovereign. Muley Mohamet therefore determined to ſend troops into the provinces, as well to make his authority reſpected as to keep the ſoldiers occupied, and prevent the effects of their inconſtancy. He ſent his three ſons, Muley Haram, Muley Abdel Cader, and Muley Abdallah, againſt the city of Tremecen, of which they poſſeſſed themſelves

without the leaſt reſiſtance. Haram advanced toward Oran, but could not conquer it; and, having returned to Fez, he there fell ſick and died. The Algerine Turks, having heard of the reduction of Tremecen, marched with an army to effect its recovery. The king of Morocco ſent three of his ſons, with various detachments, to its relief; but the want of concord between theſe brothers, who, born of different mothers, had little affection for each other, and acted as if they had oppoſite intereſts, occaſioned the loſs of the place, and of a battle, in which one of them was killed, and another wounded.

At the ſame time, Salah Reis, governor of Algiers, who had acquired the reputation of valour, informed by Muley Buhaſon, prince of Gomera, of the perfidious conduct of the Sharifs, to the king of Fez, offered his alliance to dethrone Muley Mohamet. Buhaſon accepted the propoſal, and alſo aſſured him he would allow a thouſand piſtoles, daily, for the maintenance of his troops, and abandon to him

all the ſilver, gold, and jewels, which might be taken from the Sharif. Salah Reis accordingly departed, in 1553, with his artillery, and 4000 men, who were joined during their progreſs by a multitude of volunteers, that continually increaſed.

The Sharif, then engaged in ſubjecting the mountaineers of the environs of Morocco, having heard of this march, went to the relief of Fez, and ſent all the cavalry he could collect to encamp in its neighbourhood. Salah Reis, as he advanced toward this city, had an engagement with Muley Abdallah, ſon of the king of Morocco, who commanded the rear-guard of his army, in which the young prince loſt the baggage and ſtores, which obliged the Sharif to haſten his march and enter Fez. Salah Reis, a few days after, having encamped near the city, the king of Morocco determined to ſally out, becauſe the inhabitants enjoy the privilege of capitulating, if the enemy approach the city within half a league.

The

The king of Morocco, after having held council, marched to diſpute the paſſage of the Seboo with the enemy. His poſition was nearly the ſame as it had formerly been when oppoſed to the king of Fez, with this difference, that Salah Reis was a more able general, had a more formidable artillery, and better gunners. Salah Reis, intending to paſs the river, cannonaded the army of the Sharif to prevent its acting, while his cavalry effected a paſſage; each horſeman carried an Arquebuſier behind him, who, as faſt as they gained the ſhore, entrenched themſelves behind paliſadoes, which they brought with them, while protected by their cavalry, whom the Moors were unable to drive from their poſts. By this ſkilful conduct Salah Reis gained the oppoſite ſhore, encamped, and lay all night under arms.

The next morning the Sharif diſpoſed his army in order of battle. Salah Reis did the ſame; and, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the Moors, whoſe numbers

were more than five to one, by his good generalſhip, taking advantage of his enemy's miſtakes, and oppoſing art to ſtrength, Salah Reis obliged Muley Mohamet, whoſe troops began to give ground, to ſound a retreat, and retire into New Fez. Salah Reis and Buhaſon then advanced toward Old Fez, where they found ſome reſiſtance from one of the ſons of the Sharif; but Buhaſon, having advanced with five hundred reſolute Turks, burſt the gates and entered the city, which was eaſily taken, Muley Abdallah, while he attacked the one gate, retiring through the other to join his father in New Fez. Muley Mohamet, perceiving the enemy maſter of Old Fez, thought only of flight, bade his wives carry every thing they had moſt precious with them, and follow him; but he, being in haſte to ſecure himſelf, could not wait for them, and ſeveral of them fell into the conqueror's power. Before he left the city he opened his treaſury, and ſuffered it to be pillaged by his own people, to prevent its falling into the hands of his enemies, whoſe booty conſequently was ſmall.

After

After Salah Reis had taken Fez, there was ſome altercation concerning the election of a king; he conſented, however, at length, that Muly Buhaſon ſhould be proclaimed, according to ſtipulation; and, having been paid, agreeable to treaty, he returned to Algiers with his troops, loaded with plunder. Yet was not Salah Reis contented with Buhaſon; he therefore informed the king of Morocco of his departure, and aſſured him he would grant his enemy no farther aſſiſtance, ſhould he undertake the recovery of Fez. Muley Mohamet, however, who had haſtily marched for Morocco, did not confide in this intelligence, but even wrote to Muley Abdallah, his ſon, to abandon Mequinez, which thus fell likewiſe into the power of the conqueror.

Muley Achmet, who had abandoned Tafilet by the order of his brother Muley Mohamet, and retired to the deſert, learning that he had loſt Fez, profited by this momentary weakneſs to ſeize upon Tafilet, in which there were no troops. He ſent informa-

information of his intentions to Muley Buhaſon, and intreated his aid.

Muley Mohamet diſſembled his knowledge of theſe proceedings, till he was well certified of the return of Salah Reis, and his forces, to Algiers; he then aſſembled two armies, at Morocco, the one of which he led toward Tafilet, and gave the command of the other to his ſon, Muley Abdallah, for the recovery of Fez. The latter approaching this city, Muley Buhaſon ſent his two ſons, Nacer and Mohamet, to oppoſe him with an army; but the two princes, diſunited in opinion, did not concert their operations together. The latter, deſirous of obtaining all the honour of victory, advanced with his detachment, attacked the army of Muley Abdallah, was totally defeated, and obliged to fly.

Irritated at this defeat, Buhaſon aſſembled his forces, and marched himſelf to attack Muley Abdallah, who now, being himſelf routed, was obliged to return to Morocco.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, who had blockaded Tafilet, being informed of the defeat of his ſon, carefully ſpread a contrary report, by which the courage of Muley Achmet was ſo ſunken that he imagined there was no reſource, except in his brother's clemency; to intreat which he ſent his ſons. By this artifice Muley Mohamet retook Tafilet, ſent his brother to a ſanctuary near Morocco, and detained his two ſons, whom he ſhortly after cauſed to be maſſacred.

He then departed from Tafilet toward Fez, to make another attempt on that city, and revenge the defeat of his ſon Abdallah. Muley Buhaſon marched to meet and give him battle; victory was diſputed by both with the greateſt obſtinacy; but Muley Buhaſon, having been killed by a lance, his troops took to flight; the Sharif remained maſter of the field, and victoriouſly re-entered Fez.

In his wrath againſt the inhabitants, whoſe fickleneſs and cowardice he had proved, he treated them with the utmoſt

[ſeverity,

ſeverity, exacted the repayment of his loſt treaſury, and an indemnification of his expences, for the defence and recovery of the city. In vain did the people remonſtrate on the impoſſibility of paying a ſum ſo exorbitant, eſpecially after the loſſes to which they had been expoſed. They agreed, however, to pay him the amount of three millions of livres, or one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, to relieve themſelves from perſecution. The king afterward ſeized on the poſſeſſions of wealthy individuals, and cut off many that he might obtain their riches. To avoid witneſſing the hatred of the inhabitants, he made Morocco his place of reſidence, and left his ſon Abdallah at Fez, in quality of Viceroy.

Returned to Morocco, Muley Mohamet brought his brother thither, and put him under a guard. In 1556, he made diſpoſitions to ſubject the Brebes of the mountains, who had given ſigns of commotion, and left his ſon, Muley Abdulmomen, at Morocco, with Ali-Ben-Buker, as governor. He paſſed Mount Atlas with his army,

army, but nothing remarkable happened during the campaign, except the death of this king, who was killed by a Turk, that had entered into his ſervice with that expreſs intention. Thus, as he roſe to empire by treachery, he himſelf periſhed by the hand of a traitor.

After the death of this prince, while waiting for the arrival of Muley Abdallah, who was at Fez, Ali-Ben-Buker, governor of Morocco, fearing the people might elect Muley Achmet, had him murdered in his priſon; and thus both theſe Sharifs, who had perfidiouſly made religion and good faith a pretext to deſpoil their maſters and benefactors of ſovereignty, whom, between them, they cauſed to periſh, fell themſelves, as did moſt of their poſterity, by the hands of murderers, the merited reward of their crimes.

Muley Abdallah, hearing at Fez of the death of his father, left the government of this city to his brother, Muley Abdulmomen, and departed, in 1557, for Morocco, where

where he was joyfully received. Having aſſembled the chiefs of the army, and the principal men of the city, he was proclaimed king of Fez, Morocco, and other towns and provinces, under the dominion of the Sharif. In the beginning of his reign this prince gave tokens of generous ſentiments, by which he acquired the affection of his people; but it was not long before he began to act the tyrant. Uneaſy at perceiving the popularity of his brothers, on whom he had beſtowed governments, he determined to recal them, intending to rid himſelf of them and his fears.

Muley Ottman, who was at Tarudant, repaired to court, as did his two nephews, who were governors, the one of Dara, and the other of Mequinez; but his brother, Muley Abdulmomen, excuſed himſelf on a pretext of buſineſs. Muley Abdallah put the three others to death, and, that he might varniſh his tyranny, accuſed them of not having fulfilled the duties of their office, and of failure in their adminiſtration of juſtice. This cruel act rendered Abdal-

Abdallah odious to his ſubjects, and inſupportable to himſelf, which occaſioned a fit of ſickneſs that almoſt brought him to the grave.

After his recovery, Muley Abdallah once more ſent to his brother, Abdulmomen, to concert with him a meditated enterprize againſt Mazagan; but the latter, knowing what had happened to Ottman and his nephews, replied, he would be at Morocco as ſoon as poſſible, and, under the pretext of departing for this city, having collected his riches, he took the road to Tremecen, in 1559, that he might paſs thence to Algiers. He was received with diſtinction at Algiers by Haſſen, ſon of Barbaroſſa, Dey of that city; and, after acquiring reputation by his good conduct and bravery, Haſſen beſtowed one of his daughters on him, and confided to him the government of Tremecen.

Muley Abdallah heard, with diſpleaſure, of the reception his brother had met from the Dey of Algiers, dreading leſt their union ſhould affect the good intelligence

telligence he had held with that regency, the power of which he had proved; he conſoled himſelf, however, with reflecting that, being rid thus of his brothers and nephews, he had no competitors now to dread. The principal governments in his kingdoms he beſtowed on his ſons, and, in 1562, determined to lay ſiege to Mazagan, which he had for ſome time meditated; but his enterprize was unſucceſsful, and he was conſtrained to retreat, after ſuffering great loſſes.

Muley Abdulmomen remained in peaceable enjoyment of his government of Tremecen, when the ſon of Muley Abdallah, then governor of Fez, reſolved to have him aſſaſſinated. He concerted the means with one of his faithful ſervants, who, pretending he had quarrelled with his maſter, fled from him, and took refuge at Tremecen. This Moor acted his part ſo well that Abdulmomen gave him a moſt gracious reception, and granted him unlimited confidence. The favourable moment being come, the traitor, having made every preparation for flight, killed the prince

prince, while at prayers, with his croſs-bow, and had time to mount his horſe and return to Fez, where he was generouſly rewarded by his maſter. Another kind of reward, however, followed, and ſuch as his crime deſerved; for the inhabitants of Morocco, who loved Abdulmomen, their former governor, having accuſed the king, Muley Abdallah, of the murder of this prince, he, to juſtify himſelf, ſent to Fez for the guilty Moor, whom he dragged through the ſtreets without hearing him, that he might neither betray himſelf nor his ſon.

The conduct of Muley Abdallah toward his brothers and nephews diſgraced him the more with his ſubjects, becauſe he had alienated their affections by his mode of life. He wanted courage, and addicted himſelf to drunkenneſs and pleaſures, regardleſs of all decorum; he had, nevertheleſs, ſome good qualities, employed his revenues to uſeful purpoſes, built palaces, added colleges to the moſques, and, in 1572, erected the caſtle of Cape Aguer,

having received information that Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, was equipping a fleet at Liſbon, that he might again poſſeſs himſelf of Santa Cruz and its road. Notwithſtanding the diſlike of his ſubjects, this prince, who had removed his brothers that he might indulge himſelf more licentiouſly in his pleaſures, reigned ſeventeen years without ſuffering any revolution, and, dying in 1574, left his eldeſt ſon, Muley Mohamet, his ſucceſſor.

Muley Mohamet, ſurnamed the negro, becauſe he was the ſon of a negroeſs, had ſcarcely aſcended the throne before, imitating the inhuman policy of his father, he diſpatched two of his brothers, and impriſoned the third, that he might enjoy his power in tranquillity. This cruelty rendered him alſo odious to his ſubjects, and Muley Abdelmeleck, or Moluc, one of his uncles, profiting by this diſpoſition, incited them to revolt, and dethroned him without difficulty.

Muley Mohamet, availing himſelf of the intelligence there was at that time between the Moors and the Portugueſe, repaired to Liſbon to ſupplicate aſſiſtance from Don Sebaſtian, who was then aſſembling an army to invade Africa. In this army Muley Mohamet ſerved, and convinced the king of Portugal that his preſence was of great utility to his projects. The expedition of Don Sebaſtian, however, was unſucceſsful; he was defeated and ſlain in the plains of Alcaſſar, and Muley Mohamet, who was then in his army, was drowned in croſſing a river. Muley Abdelmeleck, who had uſurped the crown, and was ill before the battle began, expired in his litter, in the very moment of victory; and thus do vaſt projects vaniſh in an inſtant.

Muley Achmet, brother of Abdelmeleck, after having won the battle, was proclaimed king of Fez by the army, and the governors of provinces and cities. His brothers were obliged by him to ſwear fidelity to his ſon, Muley Shek, and inſure to him the ſucceſſion. In 1594 this prince

made preparations for extending his dominions, when he was informed of the arrival of Muley Nacer, who had long remained in Spain, and who, depending on promiſed aid from Philip II., endeavoured to incite a revolt in his own favour. Muley Achmet ſent one of his ſons with a body of troops againſt this uſurper, who, after having been wounded in the battle, was obliged to abandon his camp and baggage, and renounce his hopes.

Muley Achmet, beloved and reſpected by his people, was the laſt deſcendant of the Sharifs, whoſe reign was troubled by no revolution. He died in 1603, and left his ſtates diſtracted by factions, which greatly increaſed the regret felt for his death.

The hiſtory of Spain informs us that Philip II. maintained a friendly coreſpondence with him, and even ſent an ambaſſador to his court, by whoſe intervention thoſe Lords, who had been taken at the battle of Alcaſſar, were recovered from ſlavery. Muley Achmet alſo ſent the

body of the king, Don Sebaſtian, to Philip. From other Spaniſh writers we learn that Philip II. ſent painters to the king of Morocco, who generouſly rewarded them for their works *. Hence we may conclude that moſt of the paintings, to be found in the palaces of the Mooriſh kings, are probably the performances of Chriſtians.

After the death of Muley Achmet, Muley Sidan, the youngeſt of his ſons, being preſent with his father, was proclaimed ſucceſſor; but this proclamation did not prevent his three brothers from forming parties to maintain their claims, and, in leſs than two months, all the four were alternately maſters of the empire. In the different actions occaſioned by theſe revolutions, victory always declared for Muley Sidan: this prince having, at length, ſubjected Sallee, which, from its ſituation, gave a balance in favour of its poſſeſſor

* Viage d'Eſpana, de Don Ant. Pons. Tom. I. Lett. II.

throughout theſe diſputes, remained victorious over his rivals.

His eldeſt brother, Muley Shek, had recourſe to the king of Spain, Philip III., to obtain a ſupply of money, and, in November 1610, put into the hands of this ſovereign the city of Laracha, of which he was poſſeſſed, as a ſecurity, both for his friendſhip and the ſum received. This aid, however, did not prevent Muley Sidan from ſtill remaining ſovereign of the empire.

The repoſe of the monarch was diſturbed by the Brebes, or inhabitants of the mountains, near Morocco, who obliged him to quit his capital, that he might free himſelf from their inroads. Having found means to divide theſe tribes, and ſubject them either by his arms or his negotiations, he peacefully paſſed the remainder of his reign, and died at Morocco in 1630, leaving princes, as his ſucceſſors, who were little qualified to govern. It appears that, in 1622, this ſovereign received an ambaſſador from Holland, who was accompanied by

by Golius, the diſciple of Erpenius, and profeſſor of the Arabic language. Muley Sidan was aſtoniſhed at the learning of Golius, who wrote Arabic perfectly, but who could not ſpeak it with facility *.

Muley Abdelmeleck, eldeſt ſon of Muley Sidan, ſucceeded his father, and was the firſt king of Morocco, who, beholding ſeveral ſmall kingdoms united under his government, aſſumed the title of Emperor. At the commencement of his reign this prince affected to be religious, but, afterward, yielding to his character, he rendered himſelf ſo hateful to the people, by his drunkenneſs, cruelty, and a multitude of other vices, that the citizens of Fez called his brother, Muley Achmet, to the throne. The latter, having manifeſted ſimilar propenſities, was not leſs diſagreeable to his ſubjects, who perceived they were not bettered by the change.

The public diſcontent incited new factions, and Muley El-Valid and Muley

* Bayle Dic. Hiſt. & Crit. mot Golius.

Semen both diſputed for empire with their brother. But, neither of them inſpiring ſufficient confidence to raiſe up a powerful party, they were obliged to deſiſt from their enterprize. After reigning four years, Muley Abdelmeleck, in 1635, was aſſaſſinated in his tent by a diſcontented ſlave, who, finding him in a ſtate of intoxication, ſhot him with a piſtol.

Muley Abdelmeleck being dead, Muley El-Valid, his brother, aſcended the throne; this came the more unexpectedly becauſe he had been impriſoned by order of his deceaſed brother, whoſe intention it was to have put out his eyes as a puniſhment for the rebellion he had raiſed. Such are the ſports of fortune. The reign of this prince was diſtinguiſhed by his mildneſs and affability, which obtained him the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects, reſtleſs as they had been when ſuffering under the cruelty of his predeceſſors. El-Valid likewiſe gave proofs of a generous and great mind, by pardoning and releaſing ſtate priſoners, and by augmenting the pay of his troops.

His

His reign, however, was troubled by an inſurrection, which his brother Semen, a reſtleſs and ambitious man, had incited, and which was promoted by an Alcaid, whom Muley El-Valid had releaſed from priſon. The ſedition, however, was ſoon quelled by the defeat of the troops of Semen, who, together with the Alcaid, was taken; the latter was beheaded in reward for his ingratitude, and Muley Semen ſtrangled; a rigorous judgment for Muley El-Valid, who, in the beginning of his reign, had ſhewn ſo much humanity and clemency. This ſeverity, perhaps, contributed to over awe the turbulent, for his reign was no more troubled by rebellion, and he died a natural death, in 1647, after having reigned twelve years. M. Sanſon, ambaſſador from France, who had met ſo many obſtacles under the reign of Muley Abdelmeleck, obtained from Muley El-Valid the ranſom of various Frenchmen, who had been held in captivity in the ſtates of Morocco.

Muley Achmet Shek, the laſt of the ſons of Muley Sidan, was elected Emperor,

peror, after the death of his brother, Muley El-Valid. An enemy to labour, addicted to pleaſures, and ever immured with his wives, this prince wholly neglected the government of his kingdom, commiting it to the care of covetous miniſters, who abuſed their influence and authority.

The indolence and effeminacy in which this monarch lived, and the oppreſſions of the governors of provinces, and cities, excited murmurs among the people, and, at length, univerſal diſcontent. The mountaineers, more reſtleſs and more reſolute than his other ſubjects, conſulting their ferocity only, and profiting by the weak ſtate of the empire, beſieged and took Morocco. After ſubjecting the inhabitants to all the calamities of war, they put Muley Achmet to death, and proclaimed one of their chiefs, named Crom-El-Hadgy; who had no right of birth to the crown, and who reigned ſome years without the love of his people.

This prince inhumanly maſſacred all the deſcendants of the Sharifs, who might

any

any way have diſturbed his reign, and, by his cruelty, revenged the blood and the rights of the houſe of Merini, whoſe monarchs theſe ſame Sharifs had deſtroyed, after having ſtripped them of wealth and ſovereignty.

Raiſed to the throne by a factious multitude, Crom-El-Hadgy was ever conſidered as a uſurper. Having never been proclaimed by the people, his power was limited to the metropolis, and extended not to the remainder of the empire. His ſurname of Hadgy, which leads us to ſuppoſe he had been at Mecca, was, perhaps, the only circumſtance that produced his election, becauſe of the veneration in which the Moors hold thoſe who have performed this pilgrimage. Crowned by the caprice of fortune, this ſovereign, having no ideas of government, deſpiſed the Moors ſo much that he confided all his authority to a Jew, as alſo the collecting of his revenues. This Jew, that he might avenge thoſe humiliations his nation ſo often had ſuffered, ſometimes abuſed his power; his will was law, and, without his

his conſent, nothing could be tranſacted. The conduct of Crom-El-Hadgy, and his miſplaced confidence, ſo offenſive to the prejudices of the Mahometans, made him the contempt of his ſubjects; and, after having reigned about ſeven years, his end was tragical.

Having fallen in love with the daughter of Muley Labes, whoſe brother he had murdered, he determined to make her his wife, notwithſtanding the ſecret averſion in which ſhe held him; and this princeſs, like another Judith, ſacrificed him to the public hatred, and her own reſentment. After conſenting to eſpouſe him, ſhe gave him wine to drink on the bridal day, in which was a ſoporific infuſion, took this occaſion to poniard him, and avenged, by the murder, the blood of her family, which had ſtained the throne of the uſurper.

It appears probable that this princeſs had a paſſion for Muley Shek, the ſon of Crom-El-Hadgy, ſince ſhe ſent him intelligence of his father's death, and afterward

ward married him, which, at leaſt, highly diminiſhed a her pretenſions to generoſity, or nobleneſs of mind. Muley Shek did not long enjoy royalty, to which he had not the leaſt claim; he was dethroned by a new revolution, that placed the reigning family on the throne of Morocco, as we ſhall ſee in the following book.

BOOK.

BOOK IV.

Sharifs of the reigning family to the acceſſion of Sidy Mahomet — Reign of Muley Sharif, the founder of this Dynaſty — Reign of Muley Mahomet — Reign of Muley Arſhid — Reign of Muley Iſhmael — Reign of Muley Achmet Daiby — Reign of Muley Abdallah.

CHAP. I.

Muley Ali brought from Mecca; held in veneration, and called, by diſtinction, Muley Sharif. Reigns peaceably.

WHEN we attentively conſider the preſent ſituation of Africa, and all the changes that have happened on its northern boundaries for a ſucceſſion of ages, we are led to imagine it was deſtined by Providence ever to remain the theatre of great revolutions; and thoſe which have ravaged the empire of Morocco, ſince the introduction of Mahometaniſm, ſeem to have been ſtill more fermented by this religion.

After

After the Arabs had ſubdued the northern coaſt of Africa, we beheld Edris, the deſcendant of Mahomet, fly from Medina to its weſtern boundaries, as to the further end of the world, to eſcape tyranny and perſecution. The Moors, who inhabited the mountains where he fixed his abode, edified by his virtues, eagerly embraced his religion; and, reſpecting his birth, they ſtill further claimed him as their ſovereign. By ſome inexplicable contradiction, Edris, a humane and juſt prince, the enemy of wars and devaſtations, became the founder of an empire ever in commotion; and the firſt acts of a ruſtic, reſtleſs, and ferocious people, were homages paid to virtue.

Mahometaniſm, which, by the nature of its cuſtoms and inſtitutions, muſt ever be moſt ſucceſsful in hot climates, made ſuch a rapid progreſs, in Africa, that it there invariably ſtamped the character of deſpotiſm, which was the baſis on which it firſt roſe, and which, prodigally beſtowing on the ſovereign unbounded authority, inſpires only fear and deſpondency in the ſubject.

The

The Moors, more ſuſceptible of fanaticiſm than any other people, becauſe they are more ignorant, and becauſe the heat of the climate more ſuddenly inflames their imagination, preſently ſaw thoſe different ſects ſprout up, that pride and ſuperſtition have multiplied, and that, ſometimes under the veil of exceſſive auſterity, at others aſſuming the maſk of indulgence and reformation, ſeduce the mind, over which they alternately domineer. Then is religion the cloak of ambitious conquerors, who impoſe upon an ever fickle, turbulent, ignorant, and fanatical multitude. Thus has the northern part of Africa, the prey of credulity, oppreſſion, and deſpotiſm, ſucceſſively groaned under an army of uſurpers, and changed the maſter almoſt with the moment.

The Empire of Morocco, which, in the thirteenth century, under Jacob Almonſor, had acquired an extent of power ſcarcely credible, loſt this power with equal rapidity, becauſe that thoſe paſſions, which actuate kings, and raiſe inſurrections among

the people, neceſſarily bring on the fall of empires, that only proſper under the protection of certain and fixed laws, and want baſis and ſupport where the government is arbitrary.

Having taken a retroſpect of this empire, overturned by a ſucceſſion of crimes, originating in the ambition of uſurpers and the reſtleſſneſs of the people, we ſhall now ſee it, under the reigning houſe, acquire a kind of conſiſtency by the aid of devaſtation and ferocity, which ſtill are much more proper to overthrow than to raiſe up empires; yet have not theſe violent concuſſions ſhaken the throne of Morocco; nay, its foundation ſeems to have been further ſecured, in proportion as it has been cemented by blood. Equally the inſtruments and the victims of tyranny, ever divided by prejudice and hatred, the Moors know not how to make one ſtep toward liberty. Confirmed in their belief of irrevocable fate, which impoſes upon and over-awes their minds, they only behold, in the will and caprice of a never-ſatisfied deſpot, the eternal decrees of that Divinity

whoſe image and oracle he is ſuppoſed. Thus, by prejudice conſecrated to ſlavery, theſe people never can change their condition, whatever may be the example of revolution, the progreſs of reaſon, or the power of time. Reaſon, indeed, can make no progreſs in an arbitrary and ever abſolute government, where tyranny and violence preſent inceſſant barriers. Their government reſembles the brambles of their deſerts, which ſtifle, in their firſt growth, thoſe genial plants that only flouriſh by care and culture.

After the extinction of the family of the Sharifs, who had dethroned the houſe of Merini, and who afterward fell themſelves the victims of their own ambition and perfidy, there were ſeveral years of dearth at Tafilet, and theſe countries underwent all the horrors of famine. The Moors of that province, who then made a pilgrimage to Mecca, brought back a Sharif, named Muley Ali, a deſcendant of Mahomet, born at the town of Yambo, near Medina, whom the people treated with the utmoſt

reſpect. According to Mooriſh tradition, the palm trees bore no fruit before the arrival of the Sharif. Seaſons having returned to their former courſe, the harveſts became ſo abundant that the ſimple and ſuperſtitious people of the country attributed a change ſo miraculous to the preſence and religion of the Sharif. All the Moors of the Morocco ſtates, diſcouraged as they had been by the devaſtations which had afflicted the empire, and wondering at ſo happy a return of plenty, eaſily believed Providence had ſent them Muley Ali, to bring their calamities to a period, and this prince, on whom they had beſtowed the name of Muley Sharif, as a title of diſtinction, was proclaimed king of Tafilet. The remaining provinces of the empire proclaimed him alſo, except Morocco, and its environs, which were then in the power of Crom-El-Hadgy.

The laſt of the ſons of Muley Sidan having been deſtroyed by that uſurper, the princes of the ancient families, who had governed the empire, were all extinct.

Muley Sharif, therefore, king of Tafilet, was, by the rights of birth, of religion, and the public wiſh, the legitimate ſovereign.

The Dynaſty acquired the ſurname of Fileli, derived from Tafilet, from this prince, whoſe poſterity was ſo numerous that he is ſaid to have had eighty-four ſons, and a ſtill greater number of daughters; thoſe of his male children, who have been moſt known to hiſtory, are Muley Mohamet, Muley-Quiber, Muley-Haran, Muley-Meheres, Muley-Arſhid, and Muley-Iſhmael-Semein. The firſt and the two laſt have reigned in ſucceſſion; the latter, ſons of a Negroeſs, diſtinguiſhed their reign by ſome warlike actions, but much more by a continuation of tyranny and cruelty that degrade humanity.

The veneration in which the people held Muley Sharif was the moſt certain pledge of their fidelity, and he had no need of the aid of armies to make his power reſpected; he therefore remained at Ta-

ſilet, without ſhewing himſelf throughout his empire; and the provinces, exhauſted by the diviſions with which they had been ſcourged during the preceding reigns, were governed with equity, by thoſe rulers to whom they were aſſigned by the monarch.

We perceive, notwithſtanding, that moſt of the Shaiks of the tribes, diſtributed among the mountains, ſilently profited by the troubles which divided the empire, the advantages of ſituation, the propenſity of the People, the diſtance of the Court, and the indolence of the Emperor, to extend their own authority. This authority would, at length, have become acknowledged, and hereditary in their families, had not the ambition and barbarous policy of Muley Arſhid ſtopped its progreſs.

Muley Sharif reigned ſome years, undiſturbed by the wavering temper of his ſubjects, to make whom happy he had dedicated his life. His death was highly regretted,

gretted, and Muley Mohamet, his eldeſt ſon, who gave hopes of virtues equal to his father's, aſcended the throne, and was unanimouſly proclaimed.

CHAP. II.

Acceſſion of Muley Mohamet. Rebellions and ſtratagems of Muley Arſhid.

MULEY Mohamet peaceably reigned at Tafilet, after his father's example, when a rebellion was raiſed by his brother Muley Arſhid. This prince, intelligent, but ambitious and bloody, knowing the inconſtancy of the Moors, projected a diviſion of the empire, and again expoſed it to revolutions ſimilar to thoſe by which it had been ſo long diſtracted. Retiring toward Dara, he preſently found himſelf at the head of a numerous party; but Muley Mohamet expeditiouſly followed him with a body of cavalry, ſeized and threw him into priſon, and inflicted exemplary puniſhment on the rebels.

Muley

Muley Arſhid having eſcaped, and been retaken, he was guarded with greater precaution; but, by the aid of a negro ſlave, appropriated to ſerve him, and who alone had the liberty of ſeeing him, he effected a breach through the tower, in which he was ſhut up, and, during night, was delivered from his dungeon. The faithful ſlave, after procuring liberty for his maſter, and having prepared horſes for flight, while ſtooping to put on the ſpurs of Muley Arſhid, was cloven down by the inhuman monſter who thought only of his own ſafety.

This black ingratitude, the reward of the labours and fidelity of a ſlave, was alſo the ſignal of new calamities, by which the empire was afflicted. Muley Arſhid haſtily fled to the mountains of Shavoya, eaſt of Temſena, and, without diſcovering himſelf, went and offered his ſervices to Sidi-Mahomet Ben-Buker, who there was abſolute, and held in veneration for his holineſs. Arſhid, diſſembling his birth and projects, ſerved as a common ſoldier, and

and gained his maſter's confidence by his zeal and fidelity.

Some Moors of Tafilet having diſcovered this prince in the market, the ſons of Ben-Buker took offence, and Muley Arſhid thought proper to fly, went to Quiviana, in the mountains of Rif, and offered his ſervices to Ali-Soliman. This prince, who reigned as ſovereign, remarking his abilities, ſoon confided to him the adminiſtration of his domains. Arſhid behaved with ſo much art, and diſſimulation, that he obtained the unlimited confidence, both of prince and people. Going to viſit the ſtates dependent on Ali-Soliman, Arſhid, under the pretence of reſtoring order, raiſed contributions there, took poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles, cut off the governors, whom he accuſed of malverſation, and diſtributed the wealth he had acquired among his ſoldiers.

He next proceeded into a diſtrict, called the mountain of the Jew, becauſe a Jew governed there, and becauſe the Brebes, whom he had ſubjected to his laws, reſpected

ſpected him as their ſovereign. After ſpreading terror through the country, he maſſacred the Jew as unworthy of commanding Mahometans, ſeized on his wealth, and rewarded his troops.

Muley Arſhid, having gained the confidence of his ſoldiers, whoſe numbers were augmented by his courage, generoſity, and ambition, he declared to them whom he was, no longer concealed the plan he had formed, but promiſed to ſubdue the country, and give it a new Lord, if they would ſecond his endeavours, and partake his fortune and fate. The propoſition was accepted by all the chiefs of the mountains, who, induced by his valour and generoſity, ſwore fidelity, and acknowledged him their maſter.

The Shaik, Ali-Soliman, informed of the perfidious conduct of Arſhid, marched to give him battle, before his party was further ſtrengthened. The daring Arſhid waited his approach, and ſo artfully ſpread the rumour of his liberality that moſt of the ſoldiers of the Shaik abandoned him,

and

and deſerted to Muley Arſhid. Soliman was himſelf delivered up to this prince, who brought him priſoner to Quiviana, that he might get poſſeſſion of his treaſures, menacing him with death if he did not diſcover them with the utmoſt exactitude. Abandoned by his troops, and beholding himſelf in the power of a perfidious and furious man, Ali-Soliman did not heſitate to give up all his concealed riches; but Muley Arſhid, regardleſs of his promiſe, put him to death, thus to confirm his own authority.

The conqueror then called his ſoldiers, and ſaid to them: "However precious "theſe metals may be, a prince, who "buries them in the earth, deſerves not to "reign. Come, my friends, and divide "with me what you have merited by "your activity and affection." The gold he kept, that it might be of after ſervice; but he gave all the ſilver to the officers, that they might diſtribute it among the ſoldiers.

The

The fame of Muley Arſhid was extended by this conduct, and was an irreſiſtible recommendation among the Mooriſh tribes. Covetous, poor, and rendered vile by oppreſſion, they forgot the perfidy of a traitor, who had robbed his benefactor of dominion, and afterward of life, remembering thoſe proofs of generoſity by which their avarice was provoked. Muley Mohamet, king of Tafilet, alarmed at this propenſity of the people, in his brother's favour, endeavoured to ſtop his progreſs, and marched with an intent to meet and give him battle. Their armies approached each other among the mountains; and that of Muley Mohamet, twice thrown in diſorder, was at laſt obliged to fly. Muley Arſhid continued the purſuit as far as Tafilet, where Muley Mohamet had ſhut himſelf up, and to which place the former laid ſiege. The king, intimidated by his brother's courage, and ſtill more by his ferocity, fell ill, and died, a few days after, in 1664.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Reign of Muley Arſhid; his politic liberality; conqueſts; barbarities and accidental death.

THE city of Tafilet was ſoon taken, after the death of Muley Mohamet; the face of the whole empire was changed, and Muley Arſhid made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to maintain his ſovereignty. He entered the province of Rif, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, as likewiſe of the city of Teza, where he paſſed the winter. In the ſpring of 1665 he marched for Fez, which city, having taken by ſurprize, and ſending for the governor, after having obliged him by torments to declare where his wealth was concealed, put him to death. He attempted the ſame practice with the governor of New Fez, who, acquainted with his

his perfidy, choſe rather to expire in torments than to diſcover where his treaſures were concealed, haughtily telling him, he hoped they would become the inſtruments of deſtruction to him, and all his poſterity.

All the Shaiks of the neighbouring diſtricts, and the governors of cities, who, during the relaxation of government, had erected themſelves into petty ſovereigns, terrified by the rapid and bloody progreſs of Muley Arſhid, haſtened to render him homage, and offer him preſents. The Alcaid Looeti, one of the number, had a beautiful daughter, whom Muley Arſhid eſpouſed; and the power ſhe obtained over him gave her father, alſo, an aſcendency over this prince, by which Looeti moderated the ſeverity of his decrees.

Deſiring to ſubdue the province of El-Garb, which extends along the weſtern coaſt, from the mouth of the Strait to Mamora, the king, before he departed, ſent for the richeſt tradeſmen of Fez, and commanded each of them to build a houſe in

the new city, in which to lodge his ſoldiers at his return.

His army now amounted to forty thouſand men, and he ſubdued the people who inhabited the eaſtern part of the province he had undertaken to conquer. The Alcaid Gailand, a courageous man, who governed in this country, made fruitleſs efforts to oppoſe the victor; abandoned by his forces, he was conſtrained to take refuge in Arzilla, whence he fled by ſea to Algiers, that he might eſcape the wild fury of this prince. The conqueſt of El-Garb induced the inhabitants of Sallee to make their ſubmiſſion; and, from this city, Muley Arſhid ſent preſents to thoſe Shaiks, of the Shavoya mountains, by whom he was known, that he might there obtain new allies, inſomuch that, in two campaigns, Muley Arſhid was maſter of all the north of the empire. He ſoon departed for the mountains of Shavoya, ſubduing on his route the Shaiks of different tribes, and ſeizing on their riches, which he divided among his ſoldiers. He next invaded the territories of Ben-Buker, under whom he had

had ſerved as a common ſoldier, and who waited for him with an army of mountaineers, intending to give him battle; but this Shaik, abandoned by his troops, was delivered up to Muley Arſhid, who poſſeſſed himſelf of his treaſures, and put him to death.

After thus having cruſhed theſe ſmall riſing principalities, Muley Arſhid paſſed the winter among the mountains, where he reinforced his army by a number of volunteers; he then began to march toward Morocco, in 1667, intending to dethrone Crom-El-Hadgy, who, about this time, had been poniarded by his wife, and had left his ſon, Muley Shaik, the heir of his uſurped domains. The latter, intoxicated by his pleaſures, troubled himſelf little concerning Muley Arſhid, and did not think of defence till the conqueror was at the gates of his city; he then ſallied out with ſome troops, little inured and ill diſpoſed to war, and that, far from fighting in his defence, were each more eager than the other to deſert to Muley Arſhid, and acknowledge him their ſovereign.

Thus abandoned by his troops, Muley Shaik endeavoured to fly into the neighbouring mountains, but was taken and brought to Muley Arſhid, who had him dragged into the city on the fortieth day of his reign, tied to the tail of a mule. The city of Morocco was glad to ſubmit itſelf to Muley Arſhid, having for ſome time been under the government of uſurpers, without name, birth, or abilities; they even requeſted the body of Crom-El-Hadgy might be taken from the ſepulchre of their kings, which was granted; and this corpſe, with that of the Jew, who had commanded under him, and all his family, then living, were burnt, to ſtrike terror into the Jewiſh nation, and teach it no more to interfere in the principal adminiſtration of government.

No ſooner was Muley Arſhid maſter of Morocco, than this monarch, whom I ſhall hereafter call Emperor, his predeceſſors having aſſumed that title, received homage in the metropolis from all the neighbouring tribes. He afterward departed for the eaſtern ſide of Mount Atlas, the frontiers

of Tafilet, to ſubjugate the inhabitants of that country. Terrified by the rapid ſucceſs of his arms, theſe tribes eagerly haſtened to pay him ſubmiſſion. He next marched toward Tarudant, where the people were equally ready to implore his clemency, and ſwear fidelity.

Maſter of all the provinces of the empire, this monarch now returned to Morocco, where he made preparations for two new expeditions. The firſt of theſe, intended againſt Fez, he was himſelf to command, and the other to be ſent againſt the Shabanets, or Chabanets, who inhabited various vallies near Mount Atlas, his nephew, Muley Achmet, was to conduct.

It would be difficult at preſent to aſcertain the origin of this tribe. From the moſt ancient accounts, it appears they were the poſterity of more than forty thouſand ſlaves, male and female, who, during the reign of Jacob Almonſor, and before his time, had been tranſported from Spain to Africa, who had built the extenſive

walls of Rabat, and had been employed in various works. To recompence the labour and fidelity of theſe ſlaves, Jacob Almonſor determined to grant them their liberty. The principal people of his court remonſtrated concerning the danger there would be in ſetting free ſo great a number of foreigners, who, having made a conqueſt of part of the country, might eaſily return, and vanquiſh the whole.

Jacob Almonſor had pledged his word for their freedom, and was determined to keep it; he therefore offered them the choice of the province they moſt would prefer for their abode; and this choice fell on a diſtrict among the mountains, which the Brebes were obliged to abandon. This emigration took place during the moon called Shaban; and, according to Mooriſh tradition, the people were for that reaſon called Shabanets.

For ſome generations the deſcendants of theſe ſlaves profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, which they gradually changed for Iſlamiſm, having no place of public worſhip,

ſhip, and becauſe that moſt of the men married Mahometan wives. This caſt long preſerved the reputation of valour, but, confounded with the neighbouring tribes, it has forgotten all remembrance of its origin, which, indeed, would be but a poor recommendation among the Moors, who are much more proud than is imagined of the antiquity and purity of their deſcent.

Muley Arſhid, arriving at Fez in the ſpring with four thouſand horſe, ſummoned, on his arrival, the tradeſmen, whom he had commanded to build houſes, or barracks, for his ſoldiers. This order they had neglecting to execute, truſting to the incertitude of human events, and not ſo ſuddenly expecting the return of their tyrant. He, enraged, commanded them to be tied to orange trees, and began to maſſacre them himſelf with his ſabre, when the Alcaid Looeti, his father-in-law, interceded in their behalf, obtained their pardon, and prevailed on the Emperor to be ſatisfied with a fine of thirty quintals

of ſilver, or upward of eight thouſand pounds.

The widows of the tradeſmen, who had been killed, refuſing to pay a part of this contribution, Muley Arſhid obliged them by torture, himſelf preſiding, a ſpectator of their tormeents *; he would even have had them drowned in the river, after having received their money, had not the Alcaid Looeti obtained a revocation of this order. What are kings, if monſters ſo execrable are worthy of the title!

During the time that Muley Arſhid was thus employed at Fez, Muley Achmet, his nephew, marched to ſubject the Shabanets, who, at firſt, obtained ſome trifling victories; but the prince, having, at length, been entirely ſucceſsful, he compelled them to render homage to Muley Arſhid.

* He had the deteſtable barbarity to put the breaſts of theſe women between the lid of a coffer, and to get upon it himſelf, to oblige them to give up their money.

No ſooner did the Emperor hear of the reſiſtance theſe mountaineers made to his troops, than he departed from Fez to encounter them himſelf; and, although he learnt on his arrival at Morocco that they where ſubjugated, he determined to proceed. To prove that he applauded their valour, he offered to entertain and treat thoſe among them well who would ſerve in his armies. This tribe, abounding with valiant men, beheld, with pleaſure, the arrival of Muley Arſhid, whoſe warlike deeds they reſpected: the chiefs among them again paid homage to him perſonally, and a body of ſix thouſand men followed his fortunes.

Inflated with proſperity, and projecting the conqueſt of Africa, Muley Arſhid entered with his army into the province of Hea; the inhabitants of which, animated by the firſt efforts of the Shabanets, had reſolved to diſpute his paſſage. Diſcouraged, however, by the defeat and ſubmiſſion of theſe mountaineers, they went to meet him with rich preſents, and brought

him their young virgins, as vaſſals bring up to their lord their firſt fruits.

Muley Arſhid received the deputation favourably, and, without abuſing his power, ſent the maidens back to their parents with preſents.

He then marched toward the Cape of Aguer, or Santa Cruz, where the inhabitants, diſperſed among the mountains, determined to take up arms. The Emperor had then about ſeventy-five thouſand men under his command, all valiant, armed with ſabres, maſſy-clubs, and arrows. Irritated by the reſiſtance he found, he gave no quarter to theſe tribes, but ſeized on all their riches. His ſeverity ſpread terror ſo much, throughout the country, that the town of Santa Cruz made its ſubmiſſion, previous even to his arrival.

Ambition, and the ſucceſs of his arms, determined Muley Arſhid to proceed to Illec, the capital town of the principality of Suz, at that time governed by Sidi Ali, a Ma-

a Marabout, held in great veneration throughout thoſe diſtricts. The Emperor laid ſiege to the town, which was unable to reſiſt for want of proviſions. Sidy Ali, preſſed by the inhabitants, whoſe inconſtancy he dreaded, ſaw the town muſt be taken; but, deſirous of eſcaping the cruelty of the conqueror, he and his whole family fled, by night, through a door in his garden, and eſcaped, into the province of Sudan, lying to the north of Senegal, where he claimed an aſylum, and the protection of the king.

After the departure of Sidy Ali, Illec having opened its gates to Muley Arſhid, he, covetous of glory, and emulous of ſurmounting difficulties, reſolved to paſs into Sudan, and collected the neceſſary proviſions for the traverſing of the deſerts, which ſeparated theſe countries.

When he came to the frontiers of the ſouth with his cavalry, harraſſed by fatigue, he found more than a hundred thouſand negroes in arms to diſpute his paſſage. Unwilling to riſk the chance of a battle

a battle in a country ſo barren, and where he had no place of retreat, he ſent ſome Alcaids to the king, to inform him he was not come to make war, but to requeſt he would deliver into his hands the prince of Suz.

The king of Sudan replied, Sidy Ali had fled to him for refuge and protection, conſequently he could not deliver him up without violating the laws of hoſpitality, a crime impoſſible for him to commit; that, having already been deprived of his ſtates, it was but juſt to preſerve his life; and that he further deſired, he, Muley Arſhid, would declare, whether he came as as a friend, or an enemy.

Remembering the hazard and peril of his preſent ſituation, Muley Arſhid diſſembled his anger; and, after having aſſured the king of Sudan his intentions were friendly, marched back toward his own country. On this occaſion he prevailed on many negroes to follow him, to whom, treating them with generoſity, he confided the guard of the palace.

Having

Having extended his empire from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cape Non, Muley Arſhid beheld himſelf the moſt puiſſant monarch of Africa; he was equally deſirous of being the moſt wealthy, and beſtowed all his attention on the amaſſing of riches. Detachments were ſent throughout the provinces to levy extraordinary contributions, with orders to pillage on the leaſt refuſal.

A Cafile, compoſed of ſeveral tribes, made ſome reſiſtance, and this emperor ſent a detachment thither, with a command to bring him the heads of the rebels. The news of this expedition having occaſioned the greateſt number to fly among the mountains, the old men, women, and children, only remained, who fell the miſerable victims of this abject, this abhorrent decree. Their heads ſent to Fez, and, expoſed round the walls of the city, ſpread terror throughout the empire.

To maſk his barbarity, under a pretence of paying ſome attention to juſtice, for deſpots, as well in Morocco as elſewhere,

think

think it neceſſary thus to colour their capricious cruelties, this Emperor commanded that thoſe who robbed travellers, or granted any aſylum to thieves, ſhould be ſought out, and their families exterminated; further ordering, that each province, and each Douhar, ſhould become reſponſible for the crimes committed within their diſtrict, that, by their watchfulneſs, crimes might be prevented. This ordinance gave the people impreſſions ſomewhat more favourable concerning their ferocious tyrant, and was in itſelf good and uſeful; the roads became ſafe, and the country people could go and come, without danger, to their markets, where they might barter their mutual products.

The law was favourable to the poor, who were much the moſt numerous; but it alſo ſerved to cloak the avidity of the monarch, who, devoured by the thirſt of accumulating gold and ſilver, employed every means his avarice could ſuggeſt to ſtrip the rich and great of their wealth, and thus deprive them of the deſire, or the means, of inſurrection. This maxim,

ſo

ſo proper in itſelf to exterminate nations, appears to have become a ſtate ſyſtem in Morocco, and the devaſtation of that empire demonſtrates what are its wretched conſequences.

No longer occupied by projected conqueſts, Muley Arſhid commanded various caſtles to be built in the provinces of his empire, thereby to give his power ſtability, and prevent the effects of inconſtancy among the people. The ſmall ſquare fort, which ſtands alone at Rabat, was built for this intent.

The tyrant had now begun to indulge himſelf in eaſe, when the ſons of his brother Mahomet, king of Tafilet, who had taken refuge among the mountains, entered into a conſpiracy there to revenge the death of their father, and to ſeize on the empire themſelves. They had gained over the governor of Old Fez, who had enjoyed their father's confidence, and him they informed by letter of the place where he was to meet and join their forces. This letter they confided to a renegado, re-

com-

commending him to kill the bearer, that they might be certain of not being diſcovered.

The renegado had ſome ſuſpicions, and, inſtead of taking the letter to the governor, went and preſented it to the Emperor, who generouſly rewarded his fidelity. The Emperor immediately went to the place appointed, that he might himſelf ſurprize his nephews; but, underſtanding they were betrayed, they took to flight, and eſcaped, though fired after by their purſuers; they, however, were overtaken and brought to their uncle, who ſent them priſoners to the caſtle of Teza, where he commanded them to be put to death.

Having gone into the province of Rif, in the begining of the year 1672, to amuſe himſelf with hunting, Muley Arſhid was there informed, that his nephew, Muley Meheres, whom he had left viceroy at Morocco, profiting by his abſence, had taken up arms. The young prince had confided in the Alcaid Abd-Elhaſis Araze, whom the Emperor had appointed to watch over his conduct.

conduct. This governor betrayed him, and, that he might do ſo the more effectually, promiſed to ſecond his projects.

Muley Meheres propoſed that he ſhould go and ſeize on Saffi, whither he might tranſport his treaſure, and take precautions for ſafety, in caſe of ill-ſucceſs. Abd-Elhaſis acquieſced in all the wiſhes of the prince, and departed ſooner than was intended, under the pretext of furthering his deſigns, which, however, he took the beſt means to circumvent. After having required the Alcaids of Saffi, and the neighbouring towns, to be watchful for their ſafety, he repaired with all diligence to the Emperor, and informed him of what had paſſed.

Little ſuſpicious of this, Muley Meheres departed, during night, for Saffi, where he expected he ſhould meet the Alcaid Abd-Elhaſis. Finding, on his arrival, that the town perſiſted in refuſing to grant him admittance, the prince, ſeeing himſelf betrayed, took the road for Mazagan, to demand refuge from the Portugueſe; but,

being

being informed that the governor of Azamore was in arms to prevent his paſſage, he fled toward Sallee that he might eſcape to Mamora, which was under the dominion of Spain. As he was croſſing the river of Sallee he perceived he was known; he, therefore, took the road toward Fez, that he might avoid raiſing any ſuſpicion. He ſoon, however, ſaw he was followed by the horſe of the Alcaid of Sallee, who had orders not to loſe ſight of him; eſcape was now become impoſſible, for, at three quarters of a league from the river, and at the entrance of the foreſt, he encountered the army of the Emperor, who was returning from Rif, and marching in all haſte toword Saffi. Here, therefore, Muley Meheres was arreſted, and gave up his arms. The Emperor, having his nephew in his power, immediately marched to Morocco, that he might prevent any inſurrection in favour of this adventurous prince, who was exceedingly beloved there by the people; but the city having teſtified no inclination to revolt, Muley Arſhid, to recompence the fidelity of the officers, confirmed

firmed them in the places which had been beſtowed on them by Muley Meheres.

The Emperor then commanded his nephew to come before him, reproached him for his diſloyalty, but, attributing this to his youth and want of proper reflection, ordered him to repair to Tafilet, there to employ himſelf in the ſtudy of the Coran, and in gaining a more perfect knowledge of his duties, as well as in the means of rendering the enterprizes he ſhould in future undertake more ſucceſsful. The feaſt of ſacrifices approached, and, that it might be celebrated with the greater magnificence, Muley Arſhid ſent for the governors of provinces and cities to be preſent, according to the cuſtom of that court. On this occaſion the Emperor, having drank exceſſively of wine, in company with ſome of his confidential friends, a cuſtom to which he was much addicted, took the fancy of mounting his horſe, to amuſe himſelf after the manner of the Moors. After prancing about in the allies of his garden, he ſpurred him forward, as may be well

 ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, with too much ardour, and the horſe ran with him into an alley of orange trees, where he fractured his ſkull, and died three days after, on the twenty ſeventh of March, 1672, in the forty-firſt year of his age.

Of all the Emperors who had governed Morocco, Muley Arſhid was the firſt who had demonſtrated a character natively ferocious; his reign was ſhort, but marked by a ſucceſſion of cruelties, the remembrance of which will not eaſily be loſt: he had ſo far contracted cruelty, by habit, that it was even become one of his amuſements.

An Alcaid, returning from a journey, vaunted of the ſafety of the high roads throughout the empire, which was ſo great that he had ſeen a ſack of walnuts which nobody had taken away. "And "how didſt thou know they were wal-"nuts?" ſaid the Emperor. "I touched "the ſack with my foot," replied the Alcaid. "Sever that foot from his body," continued Muley Arſhid, "as a puniſh-"ment for his curioſity."

I confine

I confine myſelf to this anecdote, unwilling to afflict the feelings of the humane, by here relating the extravagant and mad actions of a monſter. The relation of ſuch events as influence the fate of nations, or the manners of men, are alone abſolutely neceſſary to hiſtory.

CHAP. IV.

Muley Iſhmael, equal in policy, and cruelty to, and more avaricious than, his predeceſſors: embaſſies, rebellions, and ſieges, during his reign.

AFTER the death of Muley Arſhid, his brother, Muley Haran, in all diligence, began his journey toward Fez, that he might ſeize upon the public treaſury as a certain means of ſecuring empire to himſelf and ſoldiers for the defence of his power. Muley Iſhmael, however, who was at Teza, and to whom the news was brought by a meſſenger on a dromedary *, was

* A domedary can travel ſixty leagues in a day; his motion is ſo rapid that the rider is obliged to be girthed to the ſaddle, and to have a handkerchief before his mouth to break the current of the wind *.

* Reckoning the league at two miles and a half, and the day at twenty-four hours, this is ſtill extraordinary travelling;

was already at Fez, and even proclaimed Emperor before the arrival of his brother. The latter, not daring to enter Fez, went to Tafilet, there to aid his nephew, Muley Achmet, with his advice, that he might make himſelf maſter of that part of Morocco where he was beloved. Muley Haran, having formed a party in Tafilet, was acknowledged king; and this was the firſt diviſion of the empire, after it had been united under Muley Arſhid, in conſequence of an unnatural mixture of valour, prudence, and blood-thirſty cruelties.

Muley Iſhmael, who poſſeſſed the ſame qualities, and ſtill greater vices, than his brother, Muley Arſhid, was publicly acknowledged Emperor in the city of Fez. The Alcaid Carra, governor of the city of

ling; yet M. Saint Olon, ambaſſador from Louis XIV. to Muley Iſhmael, ſays, the Moors aſſured him the Emperor's uncle had travelled a hundred leagues in one day upon a drodary; which account, however, he held to be exaggerated. Perhaps it was upon this occaſion that the uncle of Muley Iſhmael made ſuch extraordinary haſte. T.

St. Olon. Relation de l'Emp. de Mar. p. 24.

Morocco, devoted to Muley Achmet, cauſed the gates of the palace, of which he was maſter, to be ſhut, and proclaimed Achmet, king of Morocco, at the head of the troops that were under his command. He ſent intelligence of his proceedings to the prince, preſſing him to come and ſecure his election by his preſence.

Muley Achmet immediately departed for Morocco, where he was received moſt favourably; he was perſonally beloved, and had alſo married the daughter of Muley Labes, who was born in that city, and who therefore had a claim to the affection of its inhabitants.

Informed of what had happened at Morocco, Muley Iſhmael marched thither with his army in the ſpring of 1673, before his nephew had had ſufficient time to provide for his ſecurity. After paſſing the river of the negroes, Muley Iſhmael pitched his camp near the green mountain, to the eaſt of the province of Duquella, where he learned that his nephew was encamped within a league

league of the capital. Receiving advice of this, Muley Iſhmael ſtruck his tents, and marched within a ſmall diſtance of his nephew, poſting himſelf in a vaſt plain, where he immediately made preparation for battle.

The two armies did not long remain idle ſpectators of each other; fortune, for a time, ſeemed indeciſive; but victory, at length, declared itſelf in favour of Muley Iſhmael, who had the beſt troops. Little accuſtomed to gunpowder, the inhabitants of Morocco had retired toward their ramparts, there to wait the event of the battle. A profuſion of duſt, alſo in the plain, had occaſioned ſo much confuſion that numerous ſoldiers periſhed in the canals, dug in the earth, of which they were not aware.

Muley Achmet diſcovered much courage in this action, and was deſirous of defying his uncle to ſingle combat; but, having been wounded by a ball in the thigh, and in danger of being taken, he retired, for momentary reſpite, to the palace of his brother, Muley Talbe; and, after there having

having his wound dreſſed, he fled from the city to gain the mountain before the concluſion of the battle.

After Muley Iſhmael had made victory ſure, he entered the caſtle, where he imagined he ſhould have found his nephew: the governor, Carra, informed him, he was fled; and this Emperor, with one ſtroke of his ſabre, ſevered the head of Carra from his body.

Some horſemen, who had gone in purſuit of Muley Achmet, took him, he being betrayed by the ſon of a Shaik, to whom he had fled for aſylum. Aſhamed of his perfidy, the father purſued the horſemen with a detachment, and once more recovered the young prince, who immediately fled to Tafilet.

We behold with veneration, that, in climates like theſe, deſtined to ſlavery, there are mountains which ſerve as barriers to independency, and people, though ferocious and uncultivated, whoſe fidelity is unſhaken toward the wretched fugitives whom they protect.

Muley

Muley Iſhmael remained ſometime at Morocco to receive homage from the neighbouring tribes and provinces, and then made preparations to march into the north of his empire. Not treating his ſoldiers with the ſame generoſity as Muley Arſhid had done, they at firſt diſcovered marks of diſcontent with the monarch's conduct. The city of Fez, informed of the ſecret diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, entered into a conſpiracy, the members of which ſent a deputation to Tafilet, to deſire Muley Achmet would come and put himſelf at their head.

The city of Teza ſubmitted to this prince, and the troops, that had partook the dangers and difficulties of Muley Iſhmael, retired, and deſerted from his ſtandard in open day. All the provinces were eager to receive Muley Achmet wherever he approached. The Alcaid Gayland, who had fled from Arzilla under Muley Arſhid, informed of theſe changes and troubles, ſolicited and obtained aid from the Algerines to recover his property and his government,

vernment, in which he was preſently reinſtated at the head of an army.

The old and new cities of Fez, divided in their inclinations and intereſts, daily combated each other, the old in behalf of Muley Achmet, the new for Muley Iſhmael; but, as the latter had the beſt general, it had alſo the moſt influence among the neighbouring tribes.

To prevent the miſchiefs that muſt reſult from the defection of the provinces, Muley Iſhmael, who had come before Teza, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and march with twelve thouſand men, the whole of his remaining forces, to give battle to the Alcaid Gayland, who had encamped near Alcaſſar. The Emperor attacked this brave general with ſo much intrepidity that he put his forces to flight. Gayland, notwithſtanding the rout of his army, fought like a man in deſpair; he had four horſes killed under him, and, having received a ball in his body, he fell, at length, the victim of numbers, and his

head, carried at the end of a lance, was the moſt important trophy of victory.

The defeat of this general intimidated the inſurgents, who thought proper to ſubmit, beholding fortune declare itſelf ſo decidedly for Muley Iſhmael. The conqueror pardoned the city of Alcaſſar; and, after eſtabliſhing peace in the province of Garb, he marched toward Old Fez, endeavouring, by promiſes, threats, and every means which policy could ſuggeſt, to gain over the inhabitants. Embarraſſed and undecided how to act, the citizens aſſembled in the moſque, where, following the counſel, and aſſiſted by the good offices of Sidi Abdelcader Feſſi, a perſon held in veneration, and whom they ſuppoſed could penetrate the ſecrets of futurity, they reſolved to implore the clemency of Muley Iſhmael. Neither, however, confiding in the faith of this Emperor, nor in all the promiſes he gave, they demanded that he ſhould ſolemnly make oath on the body of his brother, which had been tranſported from Morocco to Fez, there to be entombed.

rocco, where he was received with demonſtrations of joy.

After a temporary repoſe, Muley Iſhmael proceeded to the province of Hea, where he levied heavy contributions. He next turned his march toward Mount Atlas, ſubjected the Shabanets, and put numbers of them to death by torture. He thence departed into the province of Shavoya, where the people obſtinately refuſed to pay tribute. Theſe mountaineers, intrenched in their vallies, and behind trees that they had felled, rendered all the efforts of Muley Iſhmael for a time fruitleſs; at length, one of his generals marching round the mountain with four thouſand horſe to put them between two fires, they, ſeeing themſelves thus ſurrounded, took to flight, and abandoned their wives and children, who were put to the ſword; the plunder, which was very conſiderable, was diſtributed among the ſoldiers.

After this expedition, which, in its circumſtances, greatly reſembled thoſe of Muley Arſhid, Muley Iſhmael returned to Fez,

Fez, where he exacted a contribution from the inhabitants of fifty quintals of ſilver, which he, as a favour, reduced to thirty-three, amounting to two hundred thouſand livres (between eight and nine thouſand pounds.)

The cuſtom of paying contributions by a determinate weight of ſilver is very ancient, as we read in Salluſt. When Jugurtha, king of Numidia, intreated clemency from Rome, Metellus, who commanded in Africa, firſt proviſionally exacted that he ſhould pay the Romans two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. The quintal of ſilver in Morocco, as now underſtood, is a ſtated ſum of a thouſand ducats, amounting to ſix thouſand ſix hundred livres, although a quintal of coined ſilver is equal to more than ten thouſand livres.

In 1675 an ambaſſador arrived at the court of Muley Iſhmael, from England, who came to demand peace, and who, among his preſents, had brought ſome Moors who had been enſlaved. The Em-

peror,

peror, agreeably to the uſual mode and expreſſions of the court of Morocco, anſwered, he would act according to his requeſt, and that he ſhould return with ſatisfaction. At the very moment when the treaty was to be concluded, a Marabout, all in rags, but one of thoſe who are ſaints by trade, approached the king, and told him, that the Prophet had appeared to him the night before, and had commanded him to inform the Emperor, Mahomet would aid him to vanquiſh his enemies, if he would not make peace with the Engliſh.

The king, pretending to venerate theſe reveries, kiſſed the dirty head of the Moor, and informed the ambaſſador, he was exceedingly ſorry he could not make peace with him, for that he durſt not incur the wrath of the Prophet. This anecdote perfectly depicts the conduct and inſtability of the court of Morocco, where the deſpot never wants a ſpecious pretext to act according to his will, or an excuſe for neglecting what he ought to perform, and that which he may have moſt ſolemnly promiſed.

In

In the ſame year the ſeeds of inſurrection again began to ſprout in the ſouthern part of the empire. Muley Achmet, for whom the people ſtill had ſome predilection, had a momentary hope of aſcending the throne. The Moors of Tarudant, and ſome tribes of mountaineers, ſent him their deputies, ſwore obedience, and offered to combat under him as their leader.

Confiding in this return of proſperity, the prince expedited a courier to the princeſs, his wife, who was at Morocco, to inform her of what had paſſed, and induce her to procure him partiſans in the capital. This princeſs, by her artful and kind behaviour to thoſe women who viſited her, ſo well diſpoſed the minds of the citizens, in her huſband's favour, that they promiſed to receive him into the city, and proclaim him Emperor. Muley Achmet, pre-informed of theſe events, preſented, himſelf before Morocco; the great were all in his intereſt, and the common people, impatient under the oppreſſions of their then governor, were ſtill more deſirous of this

change. To prevent any tumult which might reſult from public proclamation, the night prayer was called on the towers of the moſques, and heaven invoked for the preſervation of Muley Achmet; this occaſioned it to be ſuppoſed that the prince was already in the city, and all inſurrection was thereby impeded. Muley Achmet entered in reality, followed by a numerous train; and the Alcaid, who governed in the name of Muley Iſhmael, was obliged to retire.

Muley Iſhmael was at this time proceeding toward Sallee, when he heard of the admiſſion of Muley Achmet into Morocco. He ſent his general, Meſſaoot Gerari, with four thouſand horſe and five hundred foot, whom he had ſelected at Sallee, to threaten the deſtruction of their families if they failed in their duty, and waited himſelf for the remainder of his army from Fez. Meſſaoot Gerari paſſed the river of the negroes with little reſiſtance. Muley Achmet, who had only collected a few troops to oppoſe him on his paſſage, had, with the remainder, lain in ambuſcade,

and

and fell ſo opportunely on the van of the forces of Meſſaoot that he totally defeated the general, and obliged him to repaſs the river in diſorder. Muley Achmet gave a favourable reception to the vanquiſhed, and prevailed on many of them to enter into his ſervice.

Hearing of the defeat of his general, the Emperor began his march, to come in perſon and attack his nephew. By the treachery of one of his generals, Muley Achmet was perſuaded to return to Morocco, and not march and give battle; it was urged this would but expoſe him to the hazard of a defeat, in combating an army which would deſtroy itſelf. The army of Muley Iſhmael, in effect, ſuffered greatly for want of ſubſiſtence, the provinces having been laid deſolate, and almoſt rendered deſert by the late ſucceſſion of civil wars. The Emperor approached but ſlowly toward Morocco, having been informed by the general, who was in his intereſt, that his army was inferior to that of his nephew.

Nor was this incertitude the only difficulty Muley Iſhmael had to encounter during the campaign. The compariſon which his troops drew, between the character of himſelf and that of his nephew, was ſo highly to the favour of the latter, that a conſpiracy was formed in his camp; from the conſequences of which the Emperor eſcaped almoſt by miracle. The principal Alcaids, ſecretly inclined to favour Muley Achmet, entered into a plot to aſſaſſinate the monarch, who even was ſlightly wounded in the arm by the ball of a muſket, which one of the conſpirators fired. The guilty, however, were ſeized, put to death, and their effects confiſcated by the Emperor. A few of them only eſcaped, who entered into the ſervice of Muley Achmet.

The treachery of the general of Muley Achmet having been at this time diſcovered, by the intelligence the fugitives brought, and various intercepted meſſages, he was put to death, and his body, after being dragged through the city, was denied the rites of ſepulture.

Muley Iſhmael, unable to meet his nephew with equal forces, determined to march beſide Mount Atlas, and there endeavoured to gain over ſome tribes to his party. He paſſed thence toward Santa Cruz, which place had put itſelf under the government of Muley Achmet. Not daring to entangle himſelf among the mountains, he could only ſend letters, hoping, by gentleneſs and promiſes, to regain the city.

The inhabitants of Santa Cruz, who were capable of ſelf-defence, and who abhorred Muley Iſhmael for his various cruelties, returned his letters unanſwered, and even commanded the meſſengers to inform him of the imprecations they uttered on his head. Obliged to diſſemble his reſentment, the Emperor retreated, again marching beſide the mountains, to wait ſome fit opportunity of ſurprizing the enemy.

His march was attended with unexpected ſucceſs; his nephew, having ſuppoſed him at the diſtance of ſeven days journey from Morocco, had ſent a part of his

forces, conſiſting of huſbandmen, to gather in the harveſt, and remained only with a few ſoldiers. Muley Iſhmael, informed of this, ſuddenly advanced, and came and pitched his camp within a day's march of Morocco. Muley Achmet haſtily aſſembled the huſbandmen of the environs, and, finding himſelf at the head of twenty-eight thouſand men, pitched his camp without the walls of the city.

Muley Iſhmael approached the camp of his nephew, where he two days remained, obſerving the enemy's motions, hoping that the ſoldiers of Muley Achmet would deſert, as the intelligence of ſome fugitives had led him to ſuppoſe. Deſirous of coming to action, Muley Achmet made a motion with his army, and Muley Iſhmael then began the attack. The nephew, who had made this manœuvre purpoſely to bring on a battle, fought with ſo much valour that he routed the forces of Muley Iſhmael, who loſt more than three thouſand men.

Muley

Muley Achmet, now maſter of the field of battle, had not the prudence to profit by victory; inſtead of purſuing the retreating enemy, his army was employed in rejoicings, which gave Muley Iſhmael time to rally his troops, and come to a ſecond action, in which victory declared in his favour. The forces of his nephew, who little expected again to be attacked ſo ſuddenly, were entirely routed, and the prince, obliged to re-enter Morocco, precipitately abandoned a part of his army, which miſerably periſhed.

Muley Iſhmael then thought proper to blockade the capital, but the ſallies which Muley Achmet occaſionally made obliged him not to approach too near; a greater misfortune for him ſtill was that, his army not being ſufficiently numerous totally to circumvent the city, it received ſupplies with facility, while Muley Iſhmael was himſelf in want, becauſe of the deteſtation in which he was held by the neighbouring people.

Wearied by the length of the ſiege, Muley Iſhmael made propoſitions of peace to his nephew, offering him the vice royalty of Morocco in perpetuity; but the youthful prince, full of courage, proud of paſt ſucceſs, and ſtill prouder of the fidelity of his ſoldiers, haughtily anſwered, that he who thrice had been a king never ſhould conſent to become a ſubject, and that it would be his glory to defend ſovereignty by feats of arms.

Muley Iſhmael next propoſed an interview with him in a neighbouring ſanctuary, whither each of them was to repair, accompanied by ten perſons. Muley Achmet conſented, and was the firſt at the appointed hoſpitium. Muley Iſhmael came, but with perfidious intents; he had commanded a detachment of cavalry to come to his aid, and carry off his nephew.

The interview began by mutual compliments. Muley Iſhmael purpoſely endeavoured to lengthen the conference, that he might obtain time for the arrival of his horſe;

horſe; but one of the attendants of Muley Achmet, who was upon the watch, perceiving a cloud of duſt at a diſtance, related his ſuſpicions to his maſter, and the young prince accordingly mounted his horſe, and reproached his uncle with cowardice and treachery. Leſs irritated by this juſt obloquy than by the failure of the plot he had contrived, Muley Iſhmael returned to his camp, where he vented his wrath againſt the ſoldiers; a great number of whom forſook him, and went over to Muley Achmet.

Muley Iſhmael attempted once more to cut ſhort this protracted ſiege, by keeping ſpies in the city of Morocco, and making preparations to ſcale the city walls with a ſmall detachment, which was to render itſelf maſter of one of the gates. The project, however, failed; ſome of the moſt determined aſſailants arrived ſafely on the walls; but, having been there encountered by the cuſtomary patrole, and unable to deſcend, becauſe that the ſcaling ladders were taken away, they were cut in pieces.

Muley

Muley Achmet profited by this leſſon, and reſolved to employ none but thoſe ſoldiers of whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured, in guarding the out-works. He alſo forbade the inhabitants to aſſemble, and cut off a number of the Sharifs who were in the city, and who had acted as ſpies for Muley Iſhmael.

The beſieged continued to make ſome ſallies, which equally enfeebled both parties. Muley Achmet would himſelf have been taken by the generals of his uncle, had they not been moſt fortunately killed by the cannon of the city, at the very moment when it was impoſſible he ſhould have eſcaped. Muley Iſhmael loſt on this occaſion his general, Meſſaoot Gerari, and a confidential Alcaid.

To the length of this ſiege, and the incertitude of ſucceſs, was added a ſtill greater cauſe of vexation; the Emperor had no means of gratifying his troops, that, for ſometime paſt, had received no pay. To extricate himſelf from this difficulty, in 1677, he invited the Shaik Sidi Semagh, Alcaid of the mountains of Tedla, to come

and pay him a viſit; the monarch made him eat with himſelf, flattered, careſſed him, gave him hopes of a ſtill better government, and intreated he would lend him a ſum to pay his forces.

Vain of the diſtinguiſhed manner in which he was treated, and the benevolent intentions of the Emperor, the Shaik ſent to his government, and ordered a preſent of ſix hundred negroes, of both ſexes, eight hundred horſes, a thouſand camels, four hundred mules and twenty-five quintals of ſilver, amounting to a hundred and ſixty thouſand livres *, (or upward of ſix thouſand ſix hundred pounds), which he intreated the monarch would accept. Muley Iſhmael was aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the gift; it led him to ſuppoſe that this Shaik was ſtill poſſeſſed of greater wealth, and, liſtening

* Twenty-five quintals of ſilver, according to the former and following eſtimates of the author, are but a hundred thouſand livres; the ſum of ſixty thouſand livres, therefore, is either appropriated to the remainder of the preſent to which it is apparently inadequate, or there is an error of the preſs. T.

only

only to his avidity, he arreſted him, under the pretence that he intended to revolt, and ſix months after had him beheaded, having firſt ſeized on all his poſſeſſions, which, indeed, was the only crime of which he could be accuſed.

Other Shaiks, coming likewiſe to viſit Muley Iſhmael with very conſiderable preſents, met a like favourable reception; but, terrified by the capricious conduct of the Emperor toward the Shaik of Tedla, they knew not how to interpret all the politeneſs he teſtified; a thouſand times they reiterated their proteſtations of fidelity, which ſerved but to diſcover the ſecret dread by which they were tormented. Artful and treacherous in his nature, Muley Iſhmael turned this embarraſſment, which the Shaiks, by their conduct, made viſible, to his own profit, and exacted from them a hundred and fifty quintals of ſilver, or a million of livres (upward of forty-one thouſand pounds), a number of ſheep, oxen, horſes, camels, and a thouſand negroes, of both ſexes. The governors did not fail to raiſe this

this contribution, and eſteemed themſelves happy in having eſcaped ſo well.

Similar extortions, and certain homages, which were voluntarily paid, by ſome tribes, to the Emperor, enabled him to maintain his army before Morocco, without, however, empowering him to take the city. Muley Achmet, on the contrary, blockaded as he was, found himſelf expoſed to the want of ſuccour, when a happy incident relieved them both from their perplexity.

Muley Haran, king of Tafilet, the brother of Muley Iſhmael, uncle and father-in-law to Muley Achmet, beheld with regret theſe two princes at war with each other, and determined to repair to Morocco, in the hope of being able once more to eſtabliſh concord. This Sharif was exceedingly well received by Muley Iſhmael, whom he promiſed, a few days after, to enter the city of Morocco, which he accordingly did, and where Muley Achmet received him with all kindneſs.

Muley

Muley Haran took infinite trouble to pacify his brother and nephew, and, by his repeated efforts with them individually, he, at length, accompliſhed his wiſhed-for purpoſe; a treaty was concluded, in which it was ſtipulated that Muley Achmet ſhould preſerve the title of king, but retire to Dara, the ſovereignty of which he ſhould poſſeſs, that the ſoldiers attached to this prince ſhould be permitted to leave Morocco, and follow him with arms and baggage, and that Muley Iſhmael ſhould pardon the city of Morocco, with each and all of its inhabitants, without entering into any enquiries concerning the origin of, or perſons concerned in, this war; to which were added, other articles of reciprocal ſecurity.

Muley Achmet, not having conſulted the citizens of Morocco concerning this treaty, left the place by night, with all his effects and equipage, and accompanied by the moſt faithful of his troops, under the pretence of going on ſome ſecret expedition.

Informed

Informed on the morrow of the peace concluded between Muley Iſhmael and his nephew, the inhabitants of Morocco were in the utmoſt alarm; the Talbes were deputed by the city, followed by all the children, and preceded by white flags, to implore mercy from the Emperor, who apparently granted them pardon.

The Emperor entered the city, in company with his brother Muley Haran; after which he viſited the caſtle, and there, perceiving that the magazine ſcarcely contained proviſions ſufficient for a week, he tore his beard up by the roots in his rage, accuſed Muley Haran, his brother, of treachery, cauſed him to be ſeized in his camp, and ſent one of his generals with a large detachment to deprive him of his kingdom of Tafilet. He afterward ſuffered his troops to enter the city, permitted them to pillage, and commit all kinds of licentiouſneſs, and perſonally practiſed every violence, which his own barbarity could inſpire, againſt the principal inhabitants, without reſpect to his word, his treaty, or the faith

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of that capitulation, on which the city had been yielded.

The actions of Muley Iſhmael can only be recollected with horror; his art, his cunning, his falſehood, his contradictions, and all the deſpicable means he employed to accompliſh his deſires, betokened a mean ſoul, incapable of elevation, and by nature ignoble.

Scarcely had he reduced Morocco before he received advice of an inſurrection, which had ſuddenly broken out in the province of Shavoya, and the neighbourhood of Mequinez. The arrival of Mahomet El-Hadgy-Ben-Abdallah, one of the ſons of the Alcaid Ben-Buker, who governed this country during the reign of Muley Arſhid, gave occaſion to this revolt. The Shaik, after making a long abode at Mecca, had journied to Conſtantinople, there to ſolicit protection from the Grand Signior, who, accordingly, had commanded the divan of Algiers to grant him ſuccours.

Mahomet

Mahomet El-Hadgy was received in his domains with tranſports of joy; ſo great was the degree of reſpect that he acquired, among the tribes ſcattered over the mountains, that Muley Iſhmael, conceiving the danger to be conſiderable, ſent various detachments, firſt, and afterward marched himſelf, with the remainder of his army. Mahomet El-Hadgy, having more than ſixty thouſand men under his command, little, it is true, inured to war, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to encounter Muley Iſhmael, who was marching to give him battle.

Arrived at the foot of the mountain with ſome artillery, the Emperor ſo diſpoſed his cavalry that it might attack the enemy when retreating. His troops received the diſcharge of muſketry, arrows, and ſlings, of this ill-diſciplined army; to which Muley Iſhmael replied by an exploſion from a battery of ten cannon, loaded with balls, which made the inſurgents give ground; the cavalry had time to eſcape, but the infantry, being ſurrounded, was moſt of it put to the

ſword; the Emperor purſued the cavalry with a detachment for three days, and put all to death who fell into his power.

On his return to the camp, he fell ſword in hand upon the women and children, and ſent ten thouſand heads to Fez and Morocco to be fixed upon the walls of thoſe cities, thereby to announce his victory, and ſpread terror throughout the whole empire.

Having thus terminated, by events as fortunate as they were inhuman and deteſtable, a war, which had endured three years, Muley Iſhmael repaired to Mequinez, there to enjoy repoſe. During his abſence, the vaſt palace he had begun had been finiſhed, in which he diſplayed the utmoſt magnificence. On his entrance into this palace, he received viſits from all the grandees of his kingdom, who eagerly came to make him rich preſents.

In full enjoyment, at length, of all the ſweets of eaſe, and voluptuouſneſs of vice, the Emperor indulged himſelf in the native affections of his temperament, and the im-

pulſe of his character. That he might add to the variety of his pleaſures, he daily augmented the number of his concubines; he kept a nurſery of ſlaves, ever agitated by fear, and whom he ill-treated, or cut off, on the ſlighteſt pretext. The domeſtics of his palace, and thoſe Chriſtian ſlaves whom the fate of arms delivered over to the power of his Corſairs, underwent a ſimilar treatment.

Wholly regardleſs of the lives of men, this Emperor made it his paſtime to aſſaſſinate them with his own hand. The days ſet apart for prayer were generally dedicated by him to theſe maſſacres, and thus did he eſtimate his ſacrilegious devotion by the number of his murders.

Turn we our eyes from acts ſo horrid, at which nature ſhudders; the relation of them is to be found in ſo many books that it would be ſuperfluous, here, to add new teſtimonies of the barbarities of tyranny and deſpotiſm.

Afflicted as it had been by a ſucceſſion of devaſtations, the empire of Morocco, in 1678, had ſtill new to encounter; the plague, which had been introduced by the communication between Algiers and Tetuan, made dreadful ravages; there are narratives that ſay this contagion ſwept away more than four million of people from the empire, which, to me, appears, indeed, very extraordinary. This dreadful ſcourge of man, the ſacrifices which Muley Arſhid and Muley Iſhmael made to their ambition, their avarice, and wild ferocity, the revolutions which ſucceeded under Muley Abdallah, and the various other calamities which, beneath a government ſo arbitrary, continue to deſtroy the human race, are ſo many phyſical and moral cauſes that account for the preſent depopulation of the empire.

Notwithſtanding the progreſs of the contagion, which ſpread ſtill more fatally in the northern parts, the Alcaids of the environs of Tangiers made various attempts on that town, which, at that time, was under the dominion of England. The Alcaid of Alcaſſar, Amar-Hadoo, in the month of

March, made himſelf maſter of two ſmall advanced forts, in which he ſurprized twenty ſoldiers, and ſeized a ſingle braſs cannon, on which was the arms of Portugal.

Conducted to Mequinez with much pomp, and diſplayed as a trophy, Muley Iſhmael himſelf left the city, attended by a numerous train, to go and receive this cannon. Thrice he proſtrated himſelf to earth, thanking God for the firſt victory he had gained over the Chriſtians. The Alcaid, Amar Hadoo, was made viceroy of the province of Garb.

This ſame year the Emperor determined to leave Mequinez; the plague committed its ravages in the environs of the city, and he himſelf was inwardly devoured by that ſpirit of inquietude which was irreconcilable to ſo long a repoſe. He went to paſs the hot ſeaſon among the mountains, in the neighbourhood of Atlas, on the banks of the Mulluvia, whence he ſent to demand contributions from the neighbouring Brebes. Theſe mountaineers, favoured as they were

by ſituation, refuſed to obey the commands of the Emperor; and he, finding himſelf unable to ſubject them by force of arms, diſſembled his reſentment, and thought proper to reſt ſatisfied with ſuch tribute as they ſhould think proper to pay.

About this time there was an inſurrection at Tafilet, which was raiſed by Muley Haran, the brother of the Emperor, whom he had ſtripped of ſovereign power. Muley Iſhmael, having repaired thither, routed the inſurgents, and reſtored tranquillity to that part of his empire. Toward the end of the year, leaving Tafilet, he marched beſide Mount Atlas to exact contributions from the Brebes, who were diſperſed among the mountains. The tribes that were unable to oppoſe him by force of arms ſubmitted, and paid what he required; but thoſe that, by their ſituation, were able to reſiſt him, oppoſed his will with ſo much reſolution that the Emperor was, not only obliged to renounce his enterprize, but, endeavour to make them his friends, promiſing to leave them in tranquillity.

This

This ſolemn promiſe was guaranteed by the ſacrifice of a camel, ſlain at the foot of the mountain, as a pledge of the faith of Muley Iſhmael. Thus ſecured, the chiefs left their mountains to ſalute the Emperor, and offer him their preſents; and they, alſo, in turn, received preſents on his part. Theſe people hold ſuch kind of ſacrifices in ſo much reverence that it is the atteſtation of mutual confidence, which is employed as a means to calm the anger of the monarch; or make peace, when any cauſe of rancour exiſts among themſelves.

Although it is cuſtomary among the Moors to offer up ſacrifices to God, in gratitude for favours beſtowed, and afterward to diſtribute the animals thus ſacrificed among the poor, I do not think ſuch oblations ought to be confounded with the ſacrifice performed on this occaſion by Muley Iſhmael, and which often are offered up by the different Mooriſh tribes to calm or diſpel their inteſtine quarrels. Such ſacrifices ſhould, I apprehend, be conſidered as ſolemn vows, which are not to be violated: this is a cuſtom made ſacred by ages, known in

times more remote than the birth of Mahometaniſm, and, perhaps, peculiar to the nations of Africa. From Livy we learn that Hannibal, on the eve of giving battle to Scipio, on the banks of the Po, after making many promiſes to the ſoldiers of his army, to encourage them to fight valorouſly, took a lamb, and intreated Jupiter and the heavenly deities, that, ſhould he break his promiſe, he might himſelf periſh, as that lamb was about to periſh. The ſoldiers, adds the hiſtorian, received the promiſed hope, as if it had been ſent from the Gods themſelves *.

The valour with which theſe mountaineers had firſt reſiſted Muley Iſhmael inſpired all the people of the neighbourhood with courage, which, however, could not make him deſiſt. Impelled by the hope of booty, he raſhly entered among the mountains, without ſufficiently foreſeeing all the dangers of the enterprize. Endeavouring to terrify theſe Brebes, who lived in brutal

* Liv. lib. XXI.

ignorance,

ignorance, he threatened he would give them to the Chriſtians to eat alive, of whom they had formed fanciful and monſtrous pictures; but this terror had little effect, when they beheld, as they themſelves ſaid, that a Chriſtian had the head, the body, the arms, and the legs, of a man.

The army of the Emperor was detained among the mountains by ſnow, which had cloſed up the roads, and might have expoſed it to periſh with famine. However, he opened himſelf paſſages among theſe precipices, and abandoned his camp to a detachment, which, that it might not miſerably periſh with cold and hunger, afterward abandoned it alſo. In this campaign, Muley Iſhmael loſt about three thouſand tents, the wealth that he had amaſſed, and a part of his army, the rear guard of which was harraſſed by the mountaineers, who took the baggage.

Having gained the plain of Morocco, the Emperor there was joined by the Baſhaw Seroni, who waited for him at the head of the troops of that province. This reinforcement

ment ſo far recruited his army that he was enabled to grant repoſe to the ſoldiers, who had eſcaped this unfortunate expedition.

Humbled by his imprudence, Muley Iſhmael ſlowly returned toward Mequinez, and put to death his Viſir, Abdaraman Fileli. Abuſing the power committed to him by the monarch, this miniſter had indulged himſelf, during the abſence of Iſhmael, in every kind of prevarication, violating the moſt ſacred rights, without reſpecting even the wives of the principal Moors, who accuſed him publicly in perſon. After breaking the arm of this man with a piſtol ſhot, Muley Iſhmael commanded him to be dragged through his camp, ſewed up in the hide of an ox.

All the perſons in the train of this viſir were put to death, as accomplices of his extortions, and the abuſe of his authority, during the abſence of the Emperor. This ſeverity, which preſents a picture of the violence of arbitrary government, was, perhaps, equally criminal on the part of the prince

prince with the guilty acts his vifir had committed,

Here it is proper to obſerve that the monarchs of Morocco, deſirous to imitate the Ottoman court, have ſometimes had viſirs; but ſuch eminent ſituations, in this empire, have neither the ſame ſplendor nor the ſame power as thoſe at Conſtantinople. Authority cannot be delegated, except when it is founded on rational principles, which it is not in a government truely and abſolutely deſpotic, where each act depends on the arbitrary will of one man. A viſir, of Morocco, is called by the ſame title occaſionally there as in Turkey; but equal puiſſance he never can enjoy.

Muley Iſhmael arrived at Mequinez at the feaſt of ſacrifices, whither he had convoked all the grandees, who haſtened to bring him preſents; for, at that court, the viſit and the preſent are not only paid together, but, it is, in ſome meaſure, admiſſible to delay the viſit, provided care is taken only to ſend the preſent.

The

The ambitious projects of Muley Iſhmael, and the various difficulties he had to encounter in the beginning of his reign, made him ſuppoſe the neceſſity of maintaining a body of confidential troops; he therefore conceived the project of forming a corps of negro ſoldiers, that ſhould immediately be under his command. To accompliſh this the more quickly, excluſive of the negroes that Muley Arſhid already had collected, he purchaſed himſelf a great number of blacks, male and female, and accuſtomed his grandees to ſend them as preſents.

After marrying and ſetting apart territories for their habitations, he gave a degree of ſtability to this generation of ſlaves, educated them in the Mahometan religion, accuſtomed them to the uſe of arms, and made ſoldiers of them, who became formidable to the natives. A monarch ſo abſolute, and ſo capricious, as was Muley Iſhmael, had good reaſon to fear the fickleneſs and diſcontent of his enſlaved ſubjects, whom his violent conduct muſt continually render liable to revolt, and who could not be kept peaceable

peaceable but by overawing them with troops, whoſe intereſt ſhould alſo be the intereſt of the deſpot.

In this preciſe ſituation were the negroes. They were deſpiſed by the Moors, as well becauſe of the prejudice entertained concerning their colour, which the white men have every where conſigned to ſlavery, as becauſe of the idolatrous worſhip they maintained *. They alſo were foreigners. While fighting for the glory of their maſter, they fulfilled their military duty, and at the ſame time took vengeance for the hatred in which they were held by the Moors. By this artful policy, and the rivalſhip which Muley Iſhmael knew how to raiſe between his ſoldiers and his ſubjects, this monarch found the means of holding in ſubjection, during a long reign, all the provinces of an empire accuſtomed to a change of maſters, and which otherwiſe

* The negroes adore the Sun, and even mingle this adoration with Mahometaniſm ; although this, of all errors, is the moſt pardonable, the Moors do not the leſs regard it as idolatrous.

the barbarity of the prince muſt ſoon or late have obliged to rebel.

After having exerciſed his negroes in military dicipline, the Emperor, that he might add to the ſtrength of men the power of ſuperſtition, conſecrated them, with ceremony, to the proſperity of religion. Following the example of the Sultan Amurath, who, when he formed the corps of Janizaries, ſent them to Hadgy Bectaſch *, that he might beſtow his benediction on them, Muley Iſhmael appointed his negroes as a patron, and the ſignal of rallying, Sidi Boccari, one of the commentators of the Koran, on which book he made them take the oath of allegiance. This book, from that time, was, and is ſtill, carried reſpectfully in the army. It is depoſited in a diſtinguiſhed tent, placed in the centre of the camp, as the image of their worſhip, and the pledge of their fidelity.

* Hadgi Bectaſch, a Saint, in eſtimation among the Turks, and the founder of the Derviſes, cut the ſleeve from a felt robe which he wore, that it might ſerve as a model for the bonnet of the Janiſſaries.

Herbelot Bib. Orien.

All

All the troops act under the ſame auſpices, but none, except the blacks, the Ludaya, or other tribes, deſtined perſonally to guard the Emperor, obtain the ſurname of El-Boccari, which is thus meant to ſignify thoſe ſoldiers who are immediately in the ſervice of the prince; that is to ſay, who conſtitute the ſtanding army. This negro corps, from that time, became the individual guard of Muley Iſhmael, nor did he ever find guards more faithful. His ſucceſſors, though they have made ſome reforms, have nearly followed the ſame plan.

After the monarch had quieted thoſe troubles, by which his empire had been diſtracted, he was ſeized with a paſſion for building, and the embelliſhment of his palace became his amuſement. Indulging his own inſtability of temper, and having in the beginning no fixed plan, what he built one day he would pull down the next, giving himſelf the plans of the works he would have executed. In dedicating himſelf to this employment, the barbarian found more

more frequent occaſions of indulging his cruelties; theſe, indeed, he made his ſport.

Chriſtian ſlaves, or other workmen, employed in executing his commands, often fell the victims of his blood-thirſty caprices. If the bricks they made were found too ſmall, they were broken upon the head of the brickmaker. The workmen all were puniſhed, either by pecuniary mulcts, or by chaſtiſements analogous to their profeſſion. Still further to diverſify his amuſements, and render his idleneſs more ſupportable, he ſent for various lions, which he ordered to be encloſed in a park; and to theſe he occaſionally delivered the poor wretches he ſelected, finding an inhuman pleaſure in being a ſpectator of the combat.

In the beginning of April, 1680, Muley Iſhmael, ever the enemy of tranquillity, ſent forces, under the Alcaid Amar-Hadoo, to lay ſiege to Tangiers. This general made himſelf maſter of a ſmall fort, garriſoned by forty men, who, finding it impoſſible they ſhould receive ſuccour from the

the town, rather choſe to capitulate than to expoſe themſelves to periſh, by defending their poſt.

The governor of fort Charles, alſo, perceiving he could not long defend himſelf for want of proviſions, determined to abandon this fort, and, with his troops, to reinforce the garriſon of the caſtle. Having concerted his retreat with the commander of the caſtle, he cut his way through the intrenchments of the Moors. Of ſeventy men who had garriſoned fort Charles, and had made this deſperate ſally, about forty were ſaved, and attained the caſtle; the reſt were either taken, or killed. The commander had undermined fort Charles, and blew it up. The Moors took eighteen cannon, which had been ſpiked, and were therefore rendered uſeleſs. Muley Iſhmael made great rejoicings for this ſucceſs.

In the ſame year, the Chevalier de Chateau Renaud, the commander of a French fleet, appeared in the road of Sallee with ten ſhips of war. His intent was to

block up this port, and endeavour to make an advantageous peace. The Alcaid Amar-Hadoo, viceroy of Garb, whoſe duty it was to negotiate with him in the abſence of the Emperor, had ſeveral conferences with the perſons ſent by the French commander. Theſe negotiations, however, were all fruitleſs, and tended to no other purpoſe than that of multiplying preſents, and increaſing expences, according to the cuſtom of the court of Morocco, where they will promiſe any thing, but where no affairs can be brought to a concluſion.

The Emperor, at this time, had marched toward Tremecen, there to chaſtiſe the mountaineers who had granted an aſylum to his fugitive brothers. He received homage from the tribes inhabiting the leſſer Atlas: they made their excuſes for having granted the refuge, by which he was offended, and, without difficulty, paid the contributions he thought proper to impoſe.

As the Moors of Tremecen had often demanded aſſiſtance from Muley Iſhmael

againſt the Turks of Algiers, who were in poſſeſſion of that city, he wiſhed himſelf to examine the condition in which it was; but he found it ſo well guarded, and in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that he ſaw no hope of a ſucceſsful enterpriſe. The Divan of Algiers penetrated his intentions, and wrote to him that, if he thought the limits by which they were ſeparated ſomewhat too confined, he muſt impoſe it as a duty on himſelf, to extend them (i. e. remove himſelf) far even as from the Ocean to the Deſert. Muley Iſhmael received this letter, ſtruck his tents, and returned no other anſwer than that of marching back toward Mequinez.

Having re-entered his capital, the pleaſure he took in building again revived, and, under the pretence of enlarging and aggrandizing his palace, he alternately built up and pulled down; partly to indulge the inconſtancy of his temper, and partly to occupy thoſe about his perſon. He remarked, with great acuteneſs, meaning to picture the reſtleſsneſs of men, and, perhaps, to juſtify his own, that, "were a

" number of rats put into a baſket, they " would certainly eat their way out, " unleſs the baſket were continually " ſhaken."

Toward the end of the year 1680, Muley Achmet, the nephew of Muley Iſhmael, who had three years before retired from Morocco with the title of King of Dara, having entered into an alliance with a Shaik, of the kingdom of Suz, whoſe daughter he had married, aided by the advice and troops of his father-in-law, aſſumed the title of King of Suz. The intention of this prince, whoſe delight was only in war, was to invade the kingdom of Sudan, he having been promiſed aid by the Arabs of the deſert.

Having aſſembled his forces, and collected the proviſions neceſſary for croſſing the deſert, which ſeparates the principality of Suz from the kingdom of Sudan, Muley Achmet began his march, and was joined by the Arabs of the neighbouring provinces. His army ſuffered much for want of water, and he loſt about fifteen hundred men

men among the moving ſands, which he was obliged to croſs, and which, in this deſert, vary their form according to the variations of the wind.

Muley Achmet, at length, arrived in Sudan, and layed ſiege to Tagaret, the capital of that kingdom. The negroes, who were ſhut up in the city, made ſome reſiſtance; but, having only lances and javelins to oppoſe to fire arms, their defence was ineffectual, and the place ſurrendered at diſcretion, when it was on the eve of being ſtormed. The riches Tagaret contained were ſufficient to load fifty camels: a great part of them conſiſted in gold duſt.

Muley Achmet agreed that the ſon of the king of Sudan ſhould give him ten thouſand negro ſlaves, for his ranſom, and that they ſhould be ſent to the frontiers of his ſtates; which agreement was accordingly executed. After concluding this treaty, Muley Achmet returned toward Suz, and underwent his former difficulties in traverſing the deſert, where many of his

followers periſhed, and where he loſt ſeveral camels that bore a part of the riches he had taken. Once more ſafely arrived at Tarudant, he ſent meſſengers to Muley Iſhmael, his uncle, announcing the ſucceſs of his expedition, and with them a number of ſlaves, of both ſexes, as a preſent.

Muley Iſhmael, ever forming new projects, and having no other amuſement at Mequinez than what his wives and concubines, his buildings, and the exerciſe of his cruelties, could afford, wearied at this uniformity of life, undertook, in 1681, the conqueſt of the caſtle of Mamora, which was in the power of the Spaniards. Informed, by a fugitive, how entirely the place had been neglected, ſince the death of Philip IV., and that the garriſon was daily weakened, by thoſe diſeaſes which the humidity of the marſhes were the cauſes of, the Emperor ſent an order to the Alcaid Amar-Hadoo to aſſemble the troops in the province of Garb, and inveſt the caſtle.

Arrived before Mamora, that general ſoon deſtroyed the lines, which were formed

formed only of ſtakes and paliſadoes. He likewiſe took two towers, facing the ſea, in which there were only twelve men, who, unequal to ten thouſand, capitulated, on condition their lives ſhould be ſaved. The general did more; he granted them their liberty, ſent them into the place, and bade them inform the governor and the garriſon, that, if they did not yield, they would all be put to the ſword on the arrival of Muley Iſhmael. The very name of this man ſo diſcouraged the ſoldiers that they rather choſe to encounter the loſs of liberty, than to expoſe themſelves to his barbarity, by defending a place ſo ill provided. In this extremity the governor ſaw himſelf obliged to ſurrender, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war.

Muley Iſhmael, who was encamped in the environs of Alcaſſar, received advice of the capitulation of Mamora, and marched thither on the morrow. Finding in the place near one hundred pieces of artillery, numerous arms, and much ammunition, he proſtrated himſelf to earth, and returned thanks to the Almighty for this

conqueſt. From this time, ambitious of ſeizing other places on the coaſt, he ſent the governor of Mamora to Laracha, there to inform the commander, and garriſon, they ſhould be treated with the utmoſt rigour, if they refuſed to ſurrender.

In the month of June, and the ſame year, the Chevalier de Chateau Renaud anchored once more in the road of Sallee, with a ſquadron of four ſhips; and, having deſtroyed ſome Corſairs, Muley Iſhmael ſent orders to Amar-Hadoo to conclude a truce. This negotiation, which was one continued chain of contradictions, not being brought to a concluſion, the Emperor reſolved to ſend the Hadgi Themin, governor of Tetuan, and Caſſem Menino, brother to the governor of Sallee, ambaſſadors, into France, on board the royal ſquadron.

Theſe Ambaſſadors arrived at Paris toward the end of December. It was the intention of Muley Iſhmael to equivocate; their miſſion, therefore, went no farther than to announce the deſire of, without the

the power to conclude, peace. Every delay, of which this negotiation was ſuſceptible, and every new impediment, being an additional motive for new preſents, Muley Iſhmael was eager to renew the conferences.

The Emperor, conſtitutionally ambitious, and admiring the ſplendour of the reign of Louis XIV., who ſingly reſiſted Europe, leagued againſt him, appeared deſirous of concluding a treaty of peace with this monarch. He therefore wrote to Louis XIV., requeſting he would commit the negotiation to a confidential perſon, with whom he might treat, offering likewiſe to ſend an ambaſſador himſelf, ſhould that be agreeable to the king.

In conſequence of this invitation, Monſieur de St. Olon made a voyage to Mequinez, as ambaſſador of France, which had no other effect than that of demonſtrating the inſtability of the court of Morocco, and the ambiguous character of Muley Iſhmael. Eager to ſeize on the preſents ſent by the court of France, the Emperor

cluded, by various ſpecious pretexts, the motives of an embaſſy which he diſavowed, although it had been made at his own requeſt *,

Much about this time the Engliſh parliament, diſguſted with the expence of maintaining Tangiers, from which the nation had imagined it ſhould derive great advantages, and which, inſtead of profitable, was found burdenſome, reſolved to abandon the place. Conſequently, in 1684, the Engliſh withdrew their garriſon, ſtores, and artillery, and blew up the mole, and the fortifications which had been conſtructed by Charles II. This was new cauſe of triumph to Muley Iſhmael, who affected to ſuppoſe that England had forſaken Tangiers, and reſtored it to him, from the dread they entertained of his arms.

Glorying in the conqueſt of Mamora, and the abandoning of Tangiers, the Emperor made preparations, in 1687, to be-

* Memoires de M. de St. Olon.

ſiege

ſiege Laracha. After the neceſſary ſtores were collected, he marched, and laid ſiege to the place; in the following year he erected batteries on the ſouth ſide, and blockaded it by land. The town reſiſted his aſſaults during five months, but, at length, capitulated in 1689. It appears that the garriſon remained the priſoners of Muley Iſhmael, and was only allowed to be exchanged, on condition of reſtoring ten Moors for one Chriſtian.

Thus having the towns of Mamora, Laracha, and Tangiers, in his power, the next attempt of Muley Iſhmael was to take Ceuta. In 1694 he aſſembled more than forty thouſand men, and layed ſiege to this fortreſs; but, perceiving he ſhould be unable to vanquiſh it, unleſs he could render himſelf ſuperior by ſea, he contented himſelf with blockading it on the land ſide, and ſecuring his camp from ſurprize.

There were ſome ſkirmiſhes between the Moors and the Chriſtians, when the Spaniards made occaſional ſallies, but the loſs on both ſides was inconſiderable. The

Moors

Moors being, however, greatly diſturbed by the bombs and grenadoes, which were thrown from the town, Muley Iſhmael thought proper to encamp at a greater diſtance. He afterward left the command of his army to the viceroy of Garb, who merely lay a ſpectator of, without beſieging, Ceuta.

The wars which happened in Spain at the beginning of the preſent century, after the death of Charles II., gave Muley Iſhmael the hope of conquering the place with leſs difficulty. He therefore fortified the Mooriſh camp, erected houſes for the commanders of his forces, huts for the ſoldiers, ordered the ſiege to be begun anew, and the place never to be forſaken.

The Moors had languidly lain more than twenty years before Ceuta, when Philip V. of Spain determined to drive them to a greater diſtance. In 1720 this prince ſent an army thither, under the command of the Marquis of Leda, accompanied by a number of gallies and ſhips.

The

The Spaniſh army attacked the centre of the Moors, while the ſhips bombarded the wings, and with ſo much ſucceſs that the Moors were thrown into diſorder. The Marquis purſued his advantage with ſo much ardour that, in four hours, he not only drove them from their intrenchments, but alſo from one valley to another, without their daring to make further reſiſtance. When the Spaniards returned to the Mooriſh camp, they found four Mortars, ſome pieces of artillery, four pair of colours, and many ſtores.

I have interrupted the order of the hiſtory of Muley Iſhmael that I might preſent, under one point of view, all the attempts of that Emperor againſt Ceuta. Although the Moors, after his reign, never made any attack upon this town, their camp of obſervation has continued to exiſt, and, in deſpite of the good underſtanding which has lately been reciprocal, between the court of Spain and that of Morocco, the intercourſe, between the camp of the Moors and the town of Ceuta, is mutually maintained with circumſpection.

Not

Not by devaſtations, conqueſts, and ambitious projects alone, was the empire of Morocco, under Muley Iſhmael, agitated: as he advanced in years, his ſons whoſe numbers, ambition, and turbulence of character, led to new revolutions, and the commiſſion of new crimes, made him ſenſible, in the beginning of the preſent century, of all thoſe cares and vexations which he well might expect, from that reſtleſſneſs, and ferocity, of which he had given them an example.

Independent of the influence which the young princes began to acquire over provinces, the ſubjects of which, groaning beneath oppreſſion, were ever ready to change their maſter, domeſtic ambition, likewiſe, gave birth to domeſtic troubles. Secret intrigues were carried on by the wives of the Emperor, each of whom endeavoured to favour the intereſt of her own ſon, to the prejudice of the other brothers, and the provinces which theſe princes governed long ſuffered from their factions, and the perſonal animoſities with which ſuch factions were maintained.

Muley

Muley Mahomet, who, of all the ſons or Muley Iſhmael, moſt merited to be beloved, by the qualities he poſſeſſed, and the handſomeneſs of his perſon, was the one who gave his father the moſt chagrin. His mother was a Georgian, purchaſed at Algiers, who, by her accompliſhments and beauty, had acquired ſome empire over the heart of this barbarous monarch. The pre-eminence he held in the public opinion had rendered Muley Mahomet audacious, and, regardleſs of the ſacred aſylum of the palace, conſulting only the headſtrong and illegitimate paſſions of youth, had entered the ſeraglio of his father, to the intrigues and violences of which he fell a ſacrifice. A fate that the more certainly attends ſuch intruders, becauſe that theſe intrigues are carried on in ſilence and ſecreſy.

One of the queens*, of negro origin, the mother of Muley Zidan, ambitious and

* In Morocco they indifferently give the name of queen, and that of Lela, or Lady, to the wives of the Emperor; whom they call Ladies only, and not queens, in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior.

intriguing,

intriguing, and who, by the art with which ſhe could enflame the paſſions, ſhared the depraved heart of Muley Iſhmael, determined to effect the deſtruction both of her rival and her rival's ſon, and, by this means, aſſertain the affection of the father for Muley Zidan. This queen, by her influence, and the natural aſcendancy of her character, had acquired an authority over the other women, who, like herſelf, were jealous of the Emperor's partiality for the Georgian; ſhe therefore induced them to conſpire with her, confirm the ſuſpicions ſhe had raiſed of infidelity, and they thus obtained from Muley Iſhmael, in an atrocious moment of love and rage, permiſſion to have her ſtrangled.

Grown cool, and left to reflection, the Emperor was much affected by her death, and his attachment for Muley Mahomet was increaſed. In order to remove him from the intrigues of Lela Zidana, whoſe powers of ſeduction he himſelf dreaded, he beſtowed on him the government of Tafilet. This prince, who was governor of Fez, and who preferred that city as a place

place of reſidence, eluded his departure, under a pretence of illneſs. His father, unwilling to control his repugnance, agreed to ſend him into the province of Suz to Muley Sharif, who had ſucceeded Muley Achmet.

Muley Mahomet had been but a ſhort time in his government before, according to the Emperor's deſire, he appeaſed inſurrections raiſed near Tarudant, and the ſucceſs of the prince, on this occaſion, became the cauſe of his misfortunes.

Lela Zidana, who, with vexation, beheld that the conduct of Muley Mahomet gave him a farther claim over the affections of his father, ſet every poſſible engine in play to accompliſh his deſtruction. She wrote a letter to the prince, to which ſhe affixed the imperial ſignet, and therein commanded him to put a Shaik to death, who was moſt highly in the favour of the Emperor. The prince executed the order he received moſt reluctantly. Being ſummoned to Mequinez, there to juſtify himſelf

ſelf concerning the death of the Shaik, he preſented his father's letter, to which he had only paid obedience out of reſpect to the will of the Emperor.

Beholding his power thus abuſed, Muley Iſhmael, at firſt, was furious; but Lela Zidana ſo ſucceſsfully employed her arts that he ſent back his ſon to Tarudant, and rewarded the children of the Shaik to recompenſe them for the loſs of their father.

Muley Mahomet, after having been ſummoned to Mequinez, there to anſwer an accuſation ſo malicious and ſo wicked, was inconſolable to behold the facility with which his father gave way to firſt impreſſions, and, knowing no means of counteracting the plots of Lela Zidana, whom he held in abhorrence, he raſhly entertained projects of rebellion. Muley Iſhmael, by letters he received, judged what were his ſon's intents; but, having undertaken an expedition againſt the regency of Algiers, and being on the eve of departure, he would not change his plan.

The

The monarch began his march, toward the commencement of the preſent century, with more than ſixty thouſand men; the army of the Algerines ſcarcely exceeded ten thouſand, but it was compoſed of much better troops, and encamped itſelf on the frontiers, there to wait for the army of Muley Iſhmael, which, when it arrived, was harraſſed by fatigue, and in want of all neceſſaries. The Algerines began the attack with intrepidity, and without loſs of time; the army of the Emperor was routed, and Muley Iſhmael, who, for more than thirty years, had fought againſt the Moors with unfailing ſucceſs, was obliged to retire, and re-enter his ſtates, after an ignominious battle.

Muley Mahomet took advantage of the impreſſion which the defeat of his father had made on the minds of his ſubjects, to render himſelf maſter of Morocco. He marched thither with near forty thouſand men, whoſe fidelity was ſecured by the perſonal qualities, fine figure, and bravery of their leader. The capital at that time was governed by the Alcaid Melek, who

ſhut the city gates, diſpatched meſſengers to the king for ſuccour, and cauſed the treaſure of the palace to be ſecretly buried.

Muley Mahomet, who had no artillery, found it impoſſible to take Morocco, unleſs by ſurpriſe; he therefore divided his army into two corps, the one of which concealed itſelf near the city, while he began his march with the other as if retreating. Deceived by this ſtratagem, as the prince had foreſeen, the Alcaid Melek made a ſally with his forces to attack Muley Mahomet as he retired; and the other corps, leaving its place of concealment, fell upon the Alcaid in the rear, who was thus ſurrounded, and his army, in part, ſlaughtered, while the prince rendered himſelf maſter of the city. Muley Mahomet indulged his troops in pillage, as a reward for their valour, and ſeized himſelf on the treaſures, buried by the Alcaid, which were immediately diſcovered to him by a young ſlave.

Muley Iſhmael, on receiving the advice ſent by the Alcaid of Morocco, ordered an army to march to the ſuccour of that city, under the command of Muley Zidan, the ſon of that artful queen, who, by her faſcinations, her intrigues, and plots, had occaſioned the rebellion of Muley Mahomet. The latter prince, informed of his brother's march, retired to Tarudant, where he provided for his ſafety. Among his officers was an Alcaid, the kinſman of Lela Zidana, who informed the court of all tranſactions, and who, having been diſcovered, was beheaded.

When Muley Mahomet had aſſembled ſufficient money and troops, he determined to march againſt Muley Zidan, who had a fine army. Muley Mahomet gave the command of his van to the Alcaid Melek, the former governor of Morocco, who had entered into his ſervice. Melek ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the troops of Muley Zidan, which occaſioned the loſs of the battle.

Seeing the van of his army in the power of the enemy, Muley Mahomet was obliged to fly. The priſoners were conducted to Morocco, whence the chiefs were ſent to the Emperor, who put them to tormenting deaths. The Alcaid Melek himſelf, who had been guilty of treachery only thereby to obtain pardon, was ſacrificed to the vengeance of Lela Zidana. She would not forgive him for having, by order of the prince, beheaded her relation, who had acted as a ſpy. To render cruelty more infernal, this unhappy man was fixed to a board, and ſawed down the back.

Muley Zidan, encouraged by victory, and the flight of Muley Mahomet, determined to march and beſiege Tarudant; but having been repulſed in various ſallies, made by the beſieged, he was obliged to retire. Every artifice of treachery was then employed by this prince to enſnare his brother, and to corrupt his partiſans. Having placed ſome troops in ambuſcade to ſeize on him, one day, as he rode out, Muley Mahomet, notwithſtanding all his efforts,

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was taken and brought priſoner to Morocco, whence he was ſent by Muley Zidan, under a ſtrong guard, to the Emperor, in the year 1706.

After having afflicted the reader by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of crimes and cruelties, I would it were in my power to omit ſcenes ſtill more tragical, and, under an impenetrable veil, to conceal the atrocious acts of a violent and barbarous father, toward a raſh, unfortunate, and guilty ſon.

Muley Mahomet approached Mequinez on his journey, when the Emperor went to meet him at the river of Beth, there to puniſh his rebellion, and avoid all interceſſions in his behalf. I ſhall ſuppreſs the ſhocking preparations which Muley Iſhmael made for the ferocious exerciſe of vengeance. They both arrived on the banks of the Beth on the ſame day. The Emperor paſſed four-and-twenty hours without admitting him to his preſence; when he, at length, ſent for him, the prince fell proſtrate to the earth, and ſup-

plicated pardon for his errors in the moſt affecting terms. His father preſented him the point of his lance, and the prince, fearing death leſs than thoſe preparations which did but multiply its horrors *, again humbly conjured him to grant him pardon, and ever after to depend on his ſubmiſſion and fidelity.

The inflexible Iſhmael, who had ſo far forgotten all human pity as to be preſent at the puniſhment of his ſon, and the ſon whom he had moſt loved, commanded two men to ſeize him, and a third, a butcher, to cut off his right hand. The latter refuſed, preferring, as he ſaid, death to the ſacrilegious act of bathing his hand in the blood of a Sharif. Enraged at a ſentiment ſo generous, the Emperor ſtruck off the head of the butcher, and called another,

* Father Buſnot informs us that the Emperor was preceded by a guard of two thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot; that fourteen Chriſtian ſlaves carried a cauldron, a hundred weight of tar, or pitch, and as much oil and tallow; and that they were followed by a cart load of wood, and ſix butchers, each with his knife in his hand. T.

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who executed his will by cutting off the right hand, and the right foot, of the unfortunate prince.

" Now, doſt thou know thy father, wretch!" ſaid Iſhmael.

He then ſeized a muſket, and killed the Moor who had cut off the hand and foot of his ſon. Mahomet, groaning under pain as he was, could not forbear to remind him of the guilty inconſiſtency of a ſovereign, who equally murdered the man, who refuſed to execute his orders, and him who obeyed. Pitch was then applied to the leg and arm of the ſuffering prince as a ſtyptic, and the Emperor, ſtained with the blood of his ſon, commanded his guards to bring him living, under pain of inſtant execution, to Mequinez.

The recital of this tragical ſcene ſpread terror and conſternation through the city; the palace reſounded with lamentaions, groans, and ſhrieks, and Muley Iſhmael, unable to aſſuage their grief by the ſeverity of his orders, maſſacred ſeveral women who

who had dared to diſobey, till ſorrow, at length, was obliged to weep in ſilence.

The children of Muley Mahomet only were allowed to mourn, but were not admitted any more to ſee their father. The prince lived thirteen days in torments, and demanded to be buried, not as a prince, but as a ſlave, for ſo he had been treated by his father. Iſhmael, however, built him a mauſoleum, and thereby preſerved to poſterity a memento of his own barbarity.

After the defeat of his rival, Muley Zidan, with little internal cauſe of happineſs, returned to Tarudant once more to beſiege that city, in which the remainder of the revolted had ſhut themſelves up, which he ſurrounded ſo entirely that famine made dreadful ravages among the citizens, and it was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. More ferocious, more avaricious, more inhuman, even than his very father, Muley Zidan, committed every kind of barbarity in Tarudant, and, by his cruelties, juſtified the opinion entertained of him in his youth, that in him all the vices of the human heart were united.

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The horrors, robberies, and maſſacres, commited by Muley Zidan in the city of Tarudant, being publiſhed, ſo terrified the Moors of the neighbouring provinces and towns, that they fled for refuge among the rocks, and no where ſuppoſed themſelves in ſafety. The town of Santa-Cruz was at the ſame time evacuted, that is to ſay, in 1712; and when this prince marched thither, to beſiege it, he found no perſon but an old woman and a blind Jew, who, becauſe of their infirmities, were unable to ſeek a hiding place. The ſoldiers of the prince finding no further reſiſtance, the Moors every where flying, enriched themſelves with pillage, and were indulged in every kind of licentiouſneſs.

The ſucceſs of Muley Zidan, his troops, and his treaſures, began highly to diſturb Muley Iſhmael, who was inceſſantly preyed upon by his paſſions; the Emperor repented ſomewhat too late that he had beſtowed the command of his army on his ſon, and invented various pretexts to recal him to Mequinez; but Muley Zidan, who meditated far other projects, delayed his

his return from year to year, alledging that his preſence was ſtill neceſſary, totally to ſubdue the inſurgents.

The better to deceive his ſon, Muley Iſhmael occaſioned a report to be ſpread that he was ill, and forbore to appear in public, at the ſame time that he prevailed on the mother of Muley Zidan artfully to ſend for her ſon to Mequinez, in order that, in caſe of death, he might the more eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of the government; but the prince, well acquainted with all the ſubtleties of his father, ſuſpected the intelligence, and paid no attention to this advice. His mother wrote a ſecond letter, telling him, that his father was at the point of death, and that, if he did not incontinently return, he would be too late to pay the laſt duties of a ſon. Whether my father live or die, replied the prince, I will not forſake the army, which, in caſe of his deceaſe, will but the better aſcertain my ſucceſſion.

The rumours of the illneſs of Muley Iſhmael, and the fear that he was in reality dead,

dead, gave riſe to ſome commotions in the provinces. The citizens of Mequinez were ripe for revolt, when Lela Zidana, who governed deſpotically, under the pretence of the Emperor's illneſs, ſallied from the palace with a lance in her hand, attended by a guard of armed ſoldiers, to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity, and even arrogantly commanded ſome negroes, whom ſhe encountered as ſhe paſſed, to be puniſhed.

An event ſo ſingular, among a people where the women never appear in public, and under a government in which they are ſuppoſed to have no right to empire, aſtoniſhed the citizens, who, believing the king dead, imagined that this ambitious princeſs, whom they ſecretly deteſted, intended to ſeize on the ſovereign authority. This ſuppoſition ſpread ſo quickly, and excited ſo great an alarm, that Lela Zidana was obliged to re-enter the palace.

The Emperor, who had not been ſeen in public during fifty days, informed of the commotion among the inhabitants of the city, inſtantly left his retreat, and over-

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awed the people by his preſence, who teſtifyed the ſatisfaction they received to behold him alive. The pretended recovery of Muley Iſhmael was the cauſe of public rejoicings, and he received the viſits of the Alcaids, the grandees, and deputies of provinces and towns, on the occaſion, who brought with them the cuſtomary preſents.

Highly regretting that he had not been able, by artifice, to inveigle Muley Zidan to Mequinez, the Emperor, conſulting only the violence and ferocity of his character, now took other means to diſencumber himſelf of this prince. He well knew how much he was addicted to drunkenneſs, and that, in the fury of intoxication, he ſo far abandoned himſelf to his cruelty that his very wives and concubines were not in ſafety. Theſe he made his inſtruments to obtain his purpoſe. The wives of Muley Zidan had little reluctance in complying with the barbarous deſire of Muley Iſhmael, for they had no other poſſible means of freeing themſelves from the tyranny to which they were hourly ſubjected.

jected. Surrounding him in one of his fits of drunkenneſs, they ſmothered Muley Zidan between two mattreſſes, and thus delivered the world of a monſter unequalled in depravity.

The body of the prince was taken from Tarudant to Mequinez by the command of his mother, and there interred. The Emperor, that he might conceal the part he had taken in his death, built a mauſoleum, and a moſque, to his memory, in which an aſylum is given to criminals; and thus, under a ſuppoſed idea of ſanctity, is the memory of a prince held in veneration, who had abandoned himſelf to every vice, lived deteſted by the nation, a rebel to his father and his Emperor, and, contemning the laws of his religion, died in drunkenneſs.

After being informed of the death of Muley Zidan, Muley Iſhmael, governed by that ſpirit of contradiction which, in him, was a characteriſtic quality, commanded the ſeven wives of this prince to be brought from Mequinez, and along with them the

Jew

Jew merchant, who had ſupplied them with the brandy, by drinking which he had made himſelf drunk. Lela Zidana, as well worthy to be the wife of Muley Iſhmael as the mother of Muley Zidan, ſacrificed theſe eight victims to the barbarity of her revenge. Her cruelty was deteſtably atrocious. She ordered the breaſts to be ſevered from three of theſe women, and obliged them to eat them previous to their being ſtrangled.

Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, were abhorrent villains; yet Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, themſelves, were unequal to the fiends of whoſe acts I give but a partial relation.

The death of Muley Zidan happened in 1721, and his brother, Abdelmeleck, ſucceeded to the government of the ſouth, where he, at firſt, behaved with diſcretion; but the diſtance at which he lived from his father, the ambition of reigning, the levity of the people, and the internal vices of the government, which, here combined, inſpire rebellion among ſuch princes, ſoon rendered

rendered him equally guilty with his brothers. Acting with deſpotic authority over the princes he governed, Abdelmeleck preſently became ſuſpected by his father, and even had the temerity to refuſe paying him tribute.

The Emperor, whoſe great age no longer permitted him to traverſe deſerts that he might puniſh inſurgents, poſſeſſing now no other arms than thoſe of artifice, wrote his ſon letters, the moſt tender and confidential, that he might perſuade him to return to court, in which he even inſinuated it was his intent to abdicate the empire in his favour. Well acquainted with his father, Abdelmeleck anſwered with like art, and in the moſt reſpectful terms, that he might remove thoſe ſuſpicions which he appeared to have entertained. Muley Iſhmael, diſembling his vexation, feigned to be ſatisfied with the conduct of his ſon, and made no more intreaties; but, ſecretly nouriſhing hatred in his heart againſt this prince, he determined to leave his younger brother, Muley Achmet Daiby, his ſucceſſor

in ſovereignty. Some have ſuppoſed it was the Emperor's intention to make the nation regret his memory, by leaving a ſucceſſor unworthy of the ſceptre, and incapable of government.

After reigning fifty-four years, continually agitated by inquietude, ſuſpicion, or revolt, and ſullying his ſceptre by the moſt tragical ſcenes, Muley Iſhmael died on the 22nd of March, 1727, aged eighty one. Active, enterprizing, and politic, this Emperor has tarniſhed the glory of his reign by his avarice, his duplicity, his oppreſſions, his injuſtice, and a continuation of barbarities, the relation of which would be dreadful, and the remembrance of which time only can efface.

Addicted to ſenſuality, Muley Iſhmael had a prodigious number of wives, and, ſo numerous was his poſterity, that, it is doubted whether he himſelf knew all his children. If the common opinion may be credited, he had more than eight hundred ſons; and there ſtill remains at Tafilet a conſiderable body of the Sharifs,

who are the deſcendants of Muley Iſhmael, of his brothers, or his forefathers.

The Moors relate that the laſt child of this ſovereign was born eighteen months after the death of his father, and the Talbes decided that child birth, with reſpect to him, had departed from the order of nature. The time of geſtation, however, is certainly not longer in Morocco than in Europe; but phyſicians, in the latter country, are leſs indulgent in their opinions.

Muley Iſhmael, who, among a number of vices, poſſeſſed ſome good qualities, was ardent in the purſuit of his projects, artful in policy, and diſtinguiſhed his reign by his application to the forming of troops from the negro families, and their deſcendants, whom he acquired from the coaſt of Guinea. This population of foreign ſoldiers, whoſe intereſt was ever oppoſite to that of the Moors, but ever connected with that of the monarch, has planted in the heart of the empire a new and diſtinct nation. After the death of Muley Iſh-

mael, the number of the negro ſoldiers capable of bearing arms amounted to about one hundred thouſand. This warlike and inſolent ſoldiery, which was made the inſtrument of the avarice of Muley Iſhmael, and by whoſe aid he gratified all his paſſions, had great influence in the revolutions, which, after the death of this Emperor, have ſo much agitated Morocco. The Negroes might have ſubjugated the empire in the ſame manner as the Tartars have ſeized on China, had there been found among them ambitious leaders, as capable of forming as they were of executing projects ſo great. During ſuch tempeſtuous intervals the empire became, for ſeveral years, the prey of this avaricious body, which never gave the ſucceſſors of Muley Iſhmael time ſufficient to ſecure their authority. They reſembled the Roman legions, during the decline of that empire, they elected Emperors on one day, and dethroned them on the next.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Muley Achmet Daiby proclaimed by the Grandees and the Negroes. Duquella ſubjected. Avarice of the Emperor. Revolt of Abdelmeleck. Brutality, drunkenneſs, and indolence, of Muley Achmet. Abdelmeleck ſtrangled. Death of the Emperor.

MULEY Achmet Daiby, the only ſon of Muley Iſhmael who happened to be at Mequinez when his father died, behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence, by the council and aid of the governor of that city, that he diſconcerted the projects of his brothers, Abdelmeleck and Abdallah, who, being both his ſeniors, had that claim to empire, and the confidence of the people, which age and experience give. The troops of the latter, while he was waiting

ſome revolution in his favour, voluntarily abandoned his party, which had not aſcendancy ſufficient to withſtand his opponents.

The grandees, and the officers of the Negroes, being aſſembled, the day after the death of Muley Iſhmael, unanimouſly proclaimed Muley Achmet Daiby, and took the oath of fidelity. The new Emperor gave them two hundred thouſand ducats, about one million three hundred thouſand livres, or fifty-four thouſand pounds ſterling, to diſtribute among the troops; and they, encouraged by this generoſity, marched againſt the provinces that gave any tokens of inſurrection, and that, after having loſt Muley Iſhmael, ſuppoſed they no longer had a maſter.

The Moors of the province of Duquella, and of its environs, having taken up arms againſt Muley Achmet Daiby, were entirely defeated and ſubjected. This victory, which added to the aſcendancy the Negroes had acquired, re-eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in the other provinces.

Muley

Muley Achmet Daiby was only generous from policy: he was by character as avaricious as his father had been. In the very beginning of his reign he took all poſſible care to know and to increaſe his treaſury. So little reſpectful was his avidity that he even ſtript the wives of his father, of the gold and ſilver jewels which they had received, in the moments of his caprice, or his liberality. The wealth left by Muley Iſhmael was conſiderable, and Muley Achmet himſelf had been an œconomiſt, ſo that the treaſury of the Emperor might amount to one hundred millions of livres, or near four millions two hundred thouſand pounds. Yet did this maſs of money, accumulated by time and oppreſſion, ſoon after, diſappear in an inſtant.

Dazzled at beholding ſuch heaps of gold, Muley Achmet, as avaricious as he was intemperate, neglected the cares of government, and dedicated himſelf wholly to his pleaſures. He yielded to the debauchery of drunkenneſs, without reſerve; and this paſſion, which alienated the love of his people, was the ſource of his misfortunes.

In order to gain the affection of his ſubjects, in the beginning of his reign he iſſued an edict, by which he reduced all taxation to that of ſimply collecting the tenths, as preſcribed by the law of Mahomet. Yet did not a regulation ſo wiſe produce effects which ought to have been the reſult, but rather ſerved to manifeſt the abuſe of authority among the governors, who profited by the vices of the imperial power to increaſe their extortions. The provinces became ſo much diſſatisfied that the people, in many parts, took up arms to redreſs their grievances, and thus ſpread confuſion throughout the empire.

The moſt of theſe provinces, beholding, with repugnance, the irregular conduct of Muley Achmet Daiby, were ſecretly inclined toward prince Abdelmeleck, who was a religious obſerver of the law. They, however, durſt not openly teſtify their diſcontent. Muley Achmet being informed of the diſpoſition of the people, and perplexed concerning the manner in which he ought to act, wiſhed to ſecure the fidelity of the Negroes by his gifts, and

almoſt

almoſt wholly confided the imperial adminiſtration of government, to the caprice and fickle avarice of his troops.

Such implicit confidence, prodigally beſtowed on foreign ſoldiers, whom the Moors deteſted, ſtill further alienated the minds of men, and the fermentation became general. Sedition firſt manifeſted itſelf at Fez, the governor of which, and near a hundred men of his party, were maſſacred by the people. The city of Tetuan, and its environs, followed the example; the governor was obliged to fly, and the furious people deſtroyed his houſe, his gardens, and ſubjected the city to all the horrors of a civil war.

Muley Achmet, ſunken in brutal intoxication, was incapable of yielding any remedy to ſuch diſorders, of which the people round him even kept him in igorance. So cruel was this emperor, when he was ſober, that his attendants and wives had no other means of ſafety than that of making him drunk. The governor of Mequinez, on whom he principally depended

for

for the adminiſtration of affairs, only rendered his maſter the more odious by his own negligence. Indolence and neglect pervaded the court. The debauched life of the king, the contempt in which his inactive government was held, and the murmurs of the people, rendered diſcontent ſo univerſal that it ended in revolt.

The provinces of the ſouth were the firſt that reared the ſtandard of rebellion. Muley Abdelmeleck, who had gained the hearts of the people, finding himſelf at the head of a powerful army between Suz and Morocco, was, of all thoſe who aſpired to empire, he who ſeemed to have the beſt founded claims; but he was guilty of an error, which became an obſtacle to his good fortune and future elevation. In order to flatter his own army, compoſed of the inhabitants of the mountains and volunteers, who held the Negroes in abhorrence, this prince declared, that, ſhould he ever arrive at empire, he would maintain no negro troops.

A decla-

A declaration like this, which was exceedingly impolitic at ſuch a moment, when the Negroes, accuſtomed to war, were in poſſeſſion of all power, was for a time exceedingly favourable to the party of Muley Achmet, whoſe authority theſe ſame Negroes, proſcribed by Abdelmeleck, ſaw themſelves neceſſitated to maintain. The latter was not long before he felt the effects of his indiſcretion, and the reſentment of theſe troops. Morocco was already in his power; after having gained a battle, the provinces of the ſouth were in his intereſt, as were the cities of Fez and Tetuan in the north, inſomuch that he was almoſt maſter of the empire; but, having been defeated by the Negroes, whom he had provoked, he was obliged to abandon Morocco, and retreat, after having received three wounds, which occaſioned the report of his death to be ſpread.

Having ſuſtained ſome attacks from the forces of Muley Achmet Daiby, the city of Fez made peace with this prince, and acknowledged him Emperor. Muley Abdelmeleck made a propoſition to lay down his

his arms, if his brother would cede him the half of the empire; and Muley Achmet was himſelf inclined to acquieſce, that he might have nothing farther to do, but drink and ſleep. His miniſters, however, his courtiers, and particularly his troops, who had great influence in theſe deliberations, firmly oppoſed any ſuch diviſion.

The diſlike of the people to Muley Achmet continued the ſame, after he was thus recalled to empire, for his manner of life underwent no alteration. Totally neglectful of government, he knew not of thoſe troubles which were incited in his provinces. His days were wholly ſpent in drinking, and his debauches were carried to ſuch exceſs, that, to conceal them, from the public, was no longer poſſible. Going one Friday to the moſque to prayer, he was ſo drunk, that, when he proſtrated himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the Mahometans, he vomited up his wine; an indecency which was every where rumoured, and every where gave offence.

When

When he was brought back to his palace he treated his wives with exceſſive cruelty, becauſe they made him ſome remonſtrances, till, impatient at ſuffering his violence, they left the place, and uttered their clamors aloud, in the ſtreets, againſt the indolence and diſſimulation of his miniſters, and the commanders of his forces, who had no reſpect whatever for religion. So general was the diſcontent, that the ſoldiers themſelves, prejudiced as they were againſt Abdelmeleck, joined the natives, and Abdelmeleck was once more proclaimed.

This proclamarion made, which happened in the month of March, 1728, the principal Alcaides, aſſembled at Mequinez, ſent deputies to Abdelmeleck, preſſing him to haſten his arrival. His ſon, who was at that time in Mequinez, was appointed regent, in expectation of the coming of his father; and the young prince, by ſome well-timed gifts, very prudently ſmothered thoſe diſcontents which the party of Muley Achmet at firſt teſtified, in conſequence of this election.

Muley

Muley Abdelmeleck arrived at Mequinez, and made his public entry on the 10th of April. In the barbarity of his religious zeal, it was his intention to have put out the eyes of his brother, but he ſatisfied himſelf with baniſhing him to Tafilet, remonſtrances having been made to him that, Muley Achmet having been found unworthy of the throne only in conſequence of his debauchery and indolent conduct, he did not merit any other chaſtiſement than that of being depoſed.

After this firſt act, Abdelmeleck, auſtere, arrogant, and choleric, began to treat his miniſters, and the Moors in general, with ſo much ſeverity, haughtineſs, and contempt, that he univerſally alienated the minds of his ſubjects. Scarcely had he reigned three months before the Negroes, recollecting the declaration which Abdelmeleck had publicly made concerning them, formed a party, and ſent a detachment to Tafilet to ſolicit pardon of Muley Achmet Daiby, and to invite him once more to put himſelf at their head, and aſſume the reins of government.

Attended

Attended by ſome troops in addition to the Negroes, the Emperor began his march, and preſently found himſelf at the head of eighty thouſand men. Abdelmeleck, who, by the exceſs of his pride, had deprived himſelf of partiſans, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Mequinez, where he was beſieged, and the city, taken by aſſault, was expoſed to pillage, and every horror which vengeance and barbarity could inſpire.

During the confuſion, Muley Abdelmeleck eſcaped to the city of Fez, where he was again beſieged. Unable to take this city by ſtorm, Muley Achmet reſolved on a blockade, and, as there were not ſufficient proviſions in Fez to ſuſtain a ſiege, the inhabitants, at the end of three months, determined to capitulate. The ſole condition which the Emperor exacted from them was, to yield up his brother. Abdelmeleck was accordingly delivered over to the conqueror, who, for a moment, diſſembling the ferocity of his character, thought proper to ſend him, under a ſtrong guard, to Mequinez, where he ſome-

ſometime after commanded him to be ſtrangled.

Muley Abdelmeleck had been executed but a few days before Muley Achmet Daiby himſelf died, in March, 1729, of an incurable dropſy. Such was the end of a prince, become brutal by indolence and intemperance, and who, deſpiſed by his ſubjects, never was capable of making his power reſpected.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Acceſſion of Muley Abdallah, his cruelties; power of the Negroes, their inſatiable avidity, and conſequent revolutions. Muley Abdallah a ſixth time proclaimed Emperor; the negro troops enfeebled, and the power of the Emperor rendered more ſtable. Character of Muley Abdallah, his depravity, vices, and intolerable barbarities.

AFTER the death of Muley Achmet Daiby, the ſceptre, which the army diſpoſed of at will, was frequently removed from prince to prince; and the empire of Morocco, which, in its birth, had ſo often been the prey of fanaticiſm, was now at the mercy of the negro ſoldiers. Muley Booffer, the ſon of Muley Achmet, who

was the immediate heir to the throne, firſt preſented himſelf as his father's ſucceſſor; but his party was not ſufficiently powerful. Lena Coneta, the mother of Muley Abdallah, an artful and intelligent princeſs, knew ſo well how to gain the minds of the people, and treated the Negroes with ſo much generoſity, that her ſon was by her means proclaimed.

Muley Abdallah, though, perhaps, as capricious as, and not leſs cruel than, his father, Muley Iſhmael, was generous even to exceſs. Six times depoſed, and ſix times remounting the throne, in the commencement of his reign he was the ſport of fortune, the victim of his people's fickleneſs, and the avarice of his ſoldiers. Muley Booffer, his nephew, conteſted with him for empire; but Booffer's ſole reſources were in a Marabout, held in veneration by ſome followers, whom the ſpirit of fanaticiſm had aſſembled; his faction therefore was ſoon defeated and diſperſed by the Negroes, and he was himſelf taken, as was the Marabout, who had become his counſellor, protector, and guide.

Muley

Muley Abdallah pardoned his nephew, and granted him his liberty; but, regardleſs of the prejudices of the Moors, he commanded the Marabout to be beheaded, and treated him as an impoſtor; for, ſaid he, had this Marabout been really a Saint, the ſabre that ſtruck at him would have been edgeleſs.

Muley Abdallah afterward marched againſt Fez, which had declared in favour of Muley Booffer, and laid ſiege to the city. It ſuſtained a blockade of ſix months before it ſurrendered; and, irritated at the obſtinacy of the inhabitants, the Emperor intended to have deſtroyed and wholly eraſed its foundations. Remonſtrances, however, were made to him, that it had been built by a deſcendant of Mahomet, and a founder of the empire, and that he would expoſe himſelf, by ſuch profanation, to the wrath of Heaven, and the hatred of the people.

The little religion Muley Abdallah demonſtrated, in thus manifeſting his intention to deſtroy a city conſecrated by the

Moors to devotion, and the violent and ſanguinary character his actions already had announced, ſo alienated the minds of men that there were indications of ſedition in various provinces of the empire; the Brebes of the mountains of Tedla were the firſt who took up arms. Prompt and vindicative, Muley Abdallah haſtily aſſembled ſome native Moors to march and reduce theſe mountaineers, without reflecting that he endangered his own glory, and diſguſted his other troops by ſo ill-judged a ſelection.

Having attacked the mountaineers at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, the Emperor loſt the half of his army in the battle, and returned to Mequinez to wreak his vengeance, and add to the ſhame of his defeat, by odious exhibitions of barbarity. A multitude of the inhabitants were put to death on the ſlighteſt pretext, himſelf aiding the murderers. Deſirous of ſhewing him the deteſtable abſurdity and inhumanity of ſuch actions, his mother remonſtrated, and he replied — "My ſubjects have no other right to "their lives than that which I think pro-

" per to leave them, nor have I any other " pleaſure ſo great as that of killing them " myſelf." More abominable in cruelty than even his predeceſſors were, this Emperor ſeemed anxious to add to the infamy of his hereditary ferocity.

The tragical barbarities of Muley Abdallah occaſioned the tribes of the mountains of Tedla to revolt; and, proud of the advantage they had already gained againſt the monarch, they drew over the neighbouring provinces to their party. Grown prudent by experience, and liſtening to the advice of his mother, the Emperor engaged the Negroes to take part in his meditated vengeance, and, by ſome acts of liberality, induced them to forget the neglect with which they had been treated. He now marched at the head of thirty thouſand new-raiſed troops, who were followed by as many Negoes. In July, 1730, he arrived among the mountains of Tedla, and proceeded through a country full of brambles and underwood. Unfortunately theſe took fire near his camp, and he loſt many men, horſes, and camels, with all his pro-

viſions, and was himſelf in danger. The ſuperſtitious ſoldiers conſidered this accident as an evil prognoſtic, and the Negroes, who had teſtified ſome indications of inconſtancy, were diſguſted. Muley Abdallah, however, prevented them from abandoning him, by promiſing them three hundred thouſand ducats (or upward of eighty thouſand pounds ſterling) at the end of the campaign.

The army having received a new ſupply of proviſions, it once more began its march, in two columns, each at ſome diſtance from the other, thereby to ſurround the inſurgents. The Emperor who commanded the van attacked them with the greateſt valour; and the Negroes, who followed, ſeconded this attack ſo effectually that the rebels were cut off, and their country totally ravaged. The troops of Muley Abdallah took a vaſt number of horſes, camels, herds, and flocks, contenting themſelves with killing the ſheep, that they might carry off the wool. The very women and children were ſtripped of their clothing, and turned naked into the country;

try; but the Emperor gave them where-with to cover their nakedneſs; and this was the firſt act of humanity he had ever been known to perform.

Muley Abdallah paſſed the remainder of the campaign in the province of Hea, where his troops were indulged in repoſe, and whence he ſent a detachment into that of Dara. His arms here were unſucceſsful; the commander, who had been ſent on this expedition, brought back to Mequinez, to which place the king had returned, not more than the tenth part of the forces, with which he had been entruſted; he had fought with equal prudence and valour, and was vanquiſhed, becauſe over-powered by numbers.

Muley Abdallah baſely put this general to death, together with the ſoldiers who had returned with him, and not only preſided himſelf a witneſs of, but was the chief executioner at, this ſcene of blood. Perceiving that thoſe who put theſe wretches to death performed their taſk ill, he took the ſabre himſelf, to ſhew them the manner

in which it ought to be uſed. Thus periſhed, by the hand of a vile executioner, called an Emperor, men who, in any other country, would have met the rewards due to their ſervices.

To keep his ſubjects buſy, and not give them time to reflect on his barbarities, Muley Abdallah built new fortifications and new walls at Mequinez, to ſecure it from the incurſions of the Brebes. The inhabitants, be their rank or condition what it would, were all obliged to aſſiſt at raiſing theſe walls. At the concluſion of the year 1732, he left this work to march againſt the mountaineers of the environs of Tetuan, who gave tokens of inſurrection, and who, intrenched among their mountains and precipices, firmly waited his approach, without even defending the paſſes. Having imprudently entangled himſelf in a defile with thirty thouſand men, the Brebes ſuddenly appeared on the heights, and attacked the army of the Emperor with ſo much ſucceſs that it was put to the rout, and Muley Abdallah could with difficulty ſecure himſelf and a few ſoldiers, leaving

leaving his baggage the prey of the victors.

The ſpirit of inſurrection having ſpread itſelf almoſt throughout the whole empire, Muley Abdallah paſſed the following year in the province of Tafilet, there to quell a revolt. The ſucceſs of this campaign was by no means proſperous; the Emperor wanted not intrepidity, but was unſkilful and imprudent; and, having raſhly attacked the rebels before he had been joined by his whole army, he was vanquiſhed, and obliged to retreat. As the remainder of his forces advanced to join his army, he cauſed their officers to be ſeized, and commanded them to be dragged by mules along the road, that he might revenge upon them the diſgrace of his own imprudence and defeat.

The mother of Muley Abdallah, perceiving ſhe had loſt all influence over the mind of her ſon, and ſeeing herſelf expoſed to his contempt, unwilling longer to be a witneſs of his blood-thirſty acts, aſked permiſſion to quit the court, and go on pilgrimage

grimage to Mecca. The Emperor, on her return, teſtified little affection for this princeſs, nor did he fulfil thoſe duties preſcribed by propriety and cuſtom, after a journey conſecrated to religion. His mother, however, ſhewed much tenderneſs for him, and preſented him with four beautiful ſlaves whom ſhe had bought, hoping, by their means, to inſpire him with the love of women, and extirpate an unnatural paſſion, to which this depraved wretch had addicted himſelf. This worthy mother continued to give her ſon advice, concerning his government; but, deaf to her counſels, and liſtening only to his own impetuoſity and caprice, he wholly loſt the affection of his ſubjects.

That he might the more eaſily ſubjugate the Negroes, who, in conſequence of his diſſipation, had become intractable, and whoſe avarice and fickleneſs he dreaded, Muley Abdallah formed the project of cutting off their general, and thoſe among their officers who moſt influenced the reſolutions of this ſoldiery. The ſecret, however, having been diſcovered by the interception

ception of letters, the negro corps, ever in arms, and conſcious of its own power, rendered the project of Muley Abdallah abortive, by publicly depoſing him, on the 29th of September, 1734; and Muley Ali, one of his brothers, was elected in his ſtead.

Being informed of what were the intentions of theſe troops, Muley Abdallah ſent them three hundred thouſand ducats, hoping thereby to appeaſe them; but the Negroes received the money in part of payment of what had been promiſed, and no way changed their determination. The Emperor then, as a laſt expedient, ſhut himſelf up in Mequinez, there to defend himſelf; but, after having made his preparations, he fled among the mountains, accompanied by ſix hundred horſemen, and left his mother, his wives, and children, to the mercy of his enemies.

From Mequinez to Tarudant, Muley Abdallah viſited all the mountains, among the inhabitants of which the Negroes were held in averſion, and by this means raiſed himſelf

himſelf a party. Had he been ſuſceptible of reflection and prudence, he might have re-eſtabliſhed his power; but, equally impetuous in proſperity and adverſity, he continually acted with violence: the very tribes that had teſtified their attachment to him ſoon felt the caprices of his character, and cruelty; he, with his own hands, ill-treating and killing thoſe among them who came to make him remonſtrances: ſo that, at length, he was deteſted and execrated by all the provinces, which no longer would intereſt themſelves in his behalf.

Muley Ali, who was at Tafilet when he was called to empire, arrived at Mequinez, in October 1735. The firſt of his cares, after his entrance, was to inform himſelf concerning the ſtate of the treaſury, which he knew had been left rich by his brother, Muley Achmet Daiby. Seeing it reduced to a very trifle, he, avaricious and barbarous like his predeceſſors, indulged his ferocity; and the mother of Muley Abdallah, beholding one of her own female attendants aſſaſſinated in her arms, and fearing herſelf to fall the victim of his fury, gave him ſome infor-

information concerning a part that had been concealed, but which, however, was of ſmall value.

Anxious to preſerve a crown, for which he was indebted to the preponderating power of the Negroes, this prince diſtributed among them all the money that remained in the treaſury; and, without foreſeeing the conſequences, further promiſed them, as ſoon as he ſhould be able to pay it, the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats, or between fifty and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. Hitherto the cities of Fez and Mequinez, and their dependencies only, were under the obedience of Muley Ali; the remainder of the empire was to be acquired by the valour of the Negroes.

Their general, the ſame whom Abdallah intended to have cut off, went, at the head of thirty thouſand men, to beſiege Morocco, took it by aſſault, put the garriſon to the ſword, and gave up the city to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. Actuated by reſentment, this general propoſed to march

and

and give battle to Muley Abdallah himſelf; but, perceiving indications of irreſolution among his troops, that had ſo often experienced the capricious generoſity of this Emperor, he was determined to march with his army into the province of Beni-Haſſen, whence it carried off the flocks and herds, and ravaged the environs of Sallee; which place refuſed to open its gates.

However high the reſentment of the Negroes might be againſt Muley Abdallah, ſtill their deſire of money ſoon made them forget his cruelties, recollecting only the profuſion of his gifts. Muley Ali was poor, and this to them was a feeble recommendation; their general, who was in the intereſts of the latter, inſenſibly loſt the confidence of his ſoldiers. Influenced by their own avidity, and the intrigues of the mother of Muley Abdallah, who promiſed each man thirty ducats if they would proclaim the Emperor once more, they, in May, 1736, depoſed Muley Ali, who had for ſome time paſt ſtupified himſelf by the immoderate uſe of the Achicha, which had benum-

benumbed his powers of body and mind*.

Informed of the reſtoration of Muley Abdallah, Muley Ali retreated in his turn among the neighbouring mountains of Tremecen, accompanied by his family, and only ſome forty men, who reſolved to follow his fortunes.

A ſecond time called to the throne, Muley Abdallah received at Teza, where he then was, a deputation of the officers of the Negroes, at the head of two thouſand men, to announce the revolution, and eſcort him to Mequinez. Although the Emperor treated this deputation with demonſtrations of gratitude, he ſtill refuſed to return to Mequinez, unleſs the Negroes would deliver up their general, Selim Doo-

* This plant greatly reſembles hemp, and, mixed with other drugs, produces the ſame kind of intoxication as opium. Some of the Moors take it continually; it inſpires them with agreeable reveries, and, though exceſſively heating, it benumbs the ſenſes. In ſome conſtitutions, it renders thoſe who take it furious.

quelli;

quelli; and he then promiſed to recompenſe them by a gift of four hundred thouſand ducats, (or upward of a hundred thouſand pound ſterling) which he had concealed.

Covetous as they were of money, yet the delivering up of their general was repugnant to the Negroes; beſide, they perceived that the plan of Muley Abdallah was to weaken their power, and no longer to remain dependent on the influence they had acquired in the election of Emperor. Selim Dooquelli, an artful man, and beloved by the ſoldiers, was ſo powerful in perſuading them that they did not heſitate once more to renounce their election of Muley Abdallah, and to proclaim Muley Mahomet, Ool Del Ariba *. The general expedited a courier to the latter at Tafilet, and ſent him a detachment to eſcort him to Mequinez. Thus was Muley Abdallah, by his imprudence, depoſed

* That is to ſay, the ſon of the Ariba, which was the family name of the queen, his mother.

either

either the ſame, or nearly the ſame day, on which he was once more elected.

This precipitate proceeding, notwithſtanding, gave birth to quarrels among the ſoldiers, who were not all of the ſame opinion. They took to their arms, the party of Muley Abdallah became victorious, and he was a third time proclaimed before the arrival of Muley Mahomet. The latter, being then on the road, found himſelf obliged to ſtop at Old Fez, where he was received and treated as Emperor: Sovereignty, in times ſo perilous, was a very precarious and temporary poſſeſſion, which depended entirely on the moment and its accidents, on the character of the commanders and the caprices of the ſoldiery.

The officers of the Negroes, having reinſtated Muley Abdallah on the throne, intereſted themſelves in behalf of their general, and obtained a promiſe of pardon by the mediation of the Emperor's mother. Selim Dooquelli, who had taken

refuge in an aſylum, left this hoſpitium on the word of the Emperor; but he informed his ſoldiers of the fear he had, that he ſhould become "the victim of the deceit of this ſubtle and ſanguinary fox, who, ſaid he to them, only wiſhes to deprive you of your chief, that he may deſtroy you with the greater facility."

His fears and forbodings were juſtified by the event. Having been conducted to Teza, covered by the cloth of the ſanctuary, to which he had fled, he proſtrated himſelf before Muley Abdallah; the Emperor kiſſed the holy cloth, that far paying reſpect to cuſtom, and ordered it to be taken from the general, but, regardleſs of the aſylum of religion, or his pledged faith, buried his lance in his body, and called for a cup that he might drink his blood. He afterward cut off the perſons attached to this general, and even his children, whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled in his preſence.

This thirſt of blood, this diſreſpect of his word, and of the prejudices of the nation, incited general indignation againſt

Muley Abdallah. Not only is the ſanctuaries of their Saints conſidered, among the Moors, as a certain aſylum, which guards the culprit againſt the firſt efforts of authority, and yields him the means of juſtifying himſelf, but a like reſpect is alſo paid to the very habit of the ſaint, to whom any ſuch hoſpitium is conſecrated. To act contrary to this cuſtom, to treat the public opinion with contempt, and thus to violate the ſacred rights of the holy place of refuge, was to deprive the nation of all protection from the power of deſpotiſm; yet Muley Abdallah, acknowledging no other rule than his arbitrary will, took a pleaſure in contemning theſe hoſpitiums and their Marabouts, for which and whom the Moors have ſo much veneration. Deſirous of preventing the reſentment which his ill faith muſt inſpire among the Negroes, the Emperor departed from Teza for Mequinez, under the pretext of paying them the four hundred thouſand ducats which they had been promiſed. In order to gain time, and the better to deceive the ſoldiers, he commanded the earth to be dug up, in certain places which he

deſcribed, and affected the utmoſt aſtoniſhment when no money was found. Having, nevertheleſs, promiſed to pay the Negroes before he made his entrance into Mequinez, and being arrived there without the power of fulfilling his promiſe, Muley Abdallah knew not how to act. The ſum of four hundred thouſand ducats, and the gratification which had been before ſtipulated with his mother, amounted to near two millions of ducats; all the money he had poſſeſſed had before been diſperſed, and he was obliged to ſell his arms, his horſes, and jewels; but, though this ſacrifice proved his deſire to pay, it did not produce the quarter of the ſum he had promiſed.

Never had Muley Abdallah more need of circumſpection, and reſource in his own underſtanding, than at this inſtant. Secretly deteſted by his ſoldiers, who were enamoured only of his prodigality, he had the more to dread from their inconſtancy becauſe that he was at no great diſtance from Muley Mahomet, and to whom only he had been preferred in the hope of reward.

ward. The Emperor once more entered into treaty with the Negroes, and promiſed to pay them in the ſpace of two months, while theſe ſoldiers, on their part, determined to remain neuter during that interval, and neither intereſt themſelves in his behalf nor in behalf of Muley Mahomet, who was ſhut up in Fez.

Thus we behold a deſpotic ſovereign capitulating with his ſoldiers; yet, being themſelves the inſtruments of deſpotiſm, it is no wiſe aſtoniſhing to ſee them ſometimes thus acting as arbitrators.

This reſolution of the Negroes determined Muley Abdallah to lay ſiege to Fez, accompanied by the Brebes of his party. The city made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and the ſallies of Muley Mahomet were ſo ſucceſsful that the Brebes, wearied and and diſheartened, determined to raiſe the ſiege.

The two months, which the Negroes had granted to Muley Abdallah, being expired, they ſent to demand their money,

as a creditor ſends to demand a debt. The Emperor made excuſes, pleaded preſent circumſtances, and once more paid them with promiſes. The Negroes, whom money alone might render tractable, now recollected all the vices of Muley Abdallah, his cruelties, his ill faith, and hatred to them; nor could they find any being ſo odious as this Emperor, when he no longer had any thing to give.

The murmurs of this turbulent body, whoſe reſentment and ferocity were dreaded by Muley Abdallah, determined him to eſcape with what he could collect moſt precious, and retire among the mountains, accompanied by his mother, his ſon, and a few ſoldiers. Aſtoniſhed at the flight of the Emperor, and irreſolute themſelves concerning the manner in which they ought to act, the Negroes, in October 1736, once more named Muley Mahomet Ool Del Ariba, at the ſolicitations of the deputies of Fez, who engaged to pay, in behalf of this prince, the four hundred thouſand ducats, which had been promiſed them by Muley Abdallah.

Muley

Muley Mahomet, dreading his brother as a rival, and the fickleneſs of the ſoldiery, ſent an army, againſt Muley Abdallah, among the mountains in which he had taken refuge; but this army dared not to attack the Brebes in their faſtneſſes, and was impelled to retreat. After raiſing a more numerous army, Muley Mahomet marched thither in perſon, but with no better ſucceſs; his cavalry being incapable of acting, among mountains and precipices, he was obliged to renounce his enterprize, and to content himſelf with ravaging the country, and deſtroying ſome caſtles in the environs. His army, having afterward been attacked by the Brebes in a defile, was beaten, and thrown into diſorder. Muley Mahomet was himſelf wounded in the arm, and in danger of being taken, having fought perſonally, and with great valour.

After theſe acts of hoſtility, the Negroes, much more occupied concerning their own intereſts than the maintenance of the ſovereign power, began to make remonſtrances concerning the four hundred thouſand ducats, which the deputies of Fez had

undertaken to pay; the latter having eluded the payment of this ſum, the ſoldiers no longer could diſſemble their reſentment. Theſe reſtleſs and avaricious troops indicated ſo much indifference concerning Muley Mahomet, that this prince, who was mild, juſt, and the enemy of tyranny, was on the eve of laying down his authority voluntarily, that he might no longer ſubject himſelf to the phantaſies of theſe forces*. The Negroes, perceiving the ſovereign they had choſen poſſeſſed not that ſpirit of vexation which alone might gratify their rapacity, ſuddenly ſtripped him of the authority they had beſtowed, and, in 1738, named his brother, Muley Zin Lahabdin, as his ſucceſſor.

The reign of Muley Zin was but momentary. Muley Abdallah, who had gone

* This prince has been dead about ten years; he lived like a private man near Mequinez, where I had the honour of being acquainted with him and his ſons. Like the princes of the Arabs, they ſupported themſelves on the revenues of their lands, flocks, and herds. They were very polite, and exceedingly affable in ſociety.

toward

toward Morocco, where he had made himſelf a powerful party, was a fourth time proclaimed Emperor by the provinces of the South, that had taken arms to counteract the power of the Negroes. Made wiſe by the viciſſitudes of fortune, to which he had been expoſed by his own vices and diſſipations, and by the avidity and inconſtancy of his troops, the Emperor felt the neceſſity of weakening theſe inſolent Negroes, who diſpoſed of empire at their pleaſure.

He long remained encamped under Mount Atlas with an army of Brebes, ſuppoſing that the Negroes would march to attack him, and intending there to give them battle: but, finding this project did not ſucceed, he began his march for Mequinez, where, on his arrival, his election was confirmed. The Negroes had conſented to this, becauſe they perceived no better means of acting; they, nevertheleſs, did not behold with pleaſure a monarch on the throne, who, prodigal as he had been in his gifts, had yet ſo often deceived them, and who, contrary to the faith of promiſes

pledged,

pledged, had ſacrificed their general and principal chiefs to his policy and his vengeance; but they were obliged to diſſemble their diſcontent.

As the avarice of theſe troops favoured the intrigues of all thoſe who aſpired to ſovereign power, the ſecret diſſatisfaction of the Negroes ſoon found an opportunity of making itſelf manifeſt. The mother of Muley Muſtadi, who clandeſtinely negotiated with their general, ſo well ſucceeded that ſhe diſpoſed them to favour her ſon, who, in 1740, was proclaimed Emperor, and Muley Abdallah was once more obliged to retire among the mountains. Such and ſo inceſſant were theſe revolutions; for, as they depended on the cupidity and inconſtancy of an armed mob, theſe raiſed up Emperors and pulled them down, almoſt in the ſame moment.

Muley Muſtadi, unwilling to depend on the caprice of his ſoldiers, thought he acted wiſely in uniting himſelf with the province of Beni-Haſſen, and with the Baſhaw of Tangiers, who governed that of

of Garb. This alliance, by which a union was again effected between all the north of the empire, inſpired the troops with jealouſy; and, that they might not give Muley Muſtadi time ſufficient to ſtrengthen his party, they once more recalled Muley Abdallah.

Muley Muſtadi, however, was not depoſed with the ſame eaſe as his predeceſſors had been. Each party maintained and defended his election by the force of arms. Various actions happened between the two armies, and many fell on both ſides. At length, Muley Abdallah, ſupported by the Negroes, the Ludaya, and the moſt warlike tribes, was victorious over the factions of the two provinces, which, powerful as they were, could not withſtand an army compoſed of ſoldiers inured to war. Muley Muſtadi, on his part, without wholly renouncing empire, thought proper to retire to Arzilla, where he carried on a conſiderable commerce in grain with the Spaniards.

The

The empire at this time was, for a ſhort ſpace, divided between Muley Muſtadi and Muley Abdallah; the latter, deſirous of obliging his brother wholly to abdicate the throne, marched with an army to poſſeſs himſelf of Tangiers, and to cut off the Baſhaw, Achmet Ben Ali, who was governer of the city, and who ſuſtained Muley Muſtadi, by his credit, his money, and his troops. The Baſhaw having been killed in battle, the city was taken, and his palace was pillaged; but his ſon, Mahomet Ben Achmet, had time to eſcape to Gibralter, whither he carried all his wealth.

Muley Muſtadi profited by this momentary diverſion to go and ravage the environs of Fez. On his return from this expedition, he was attacked near Alcaſſar by Muley Abdallah, and, having been deſerted in the battle by a part of his forces, he found himſelf obliged to retreat to Sallee, where, notwithſtanding his defeat, he was received and acknowledged Emperor.

The

The town of Rabat, which is only ſeparated from Sallee by a river, having refuſed to own his authority, a civil war aroſe between the two places, which long continued, and which was equally ruinous to both by the facility they mutually had to injure each other. Sallee and Rabat, having become feudatory towns of the empire, under Muley Iſhmael, formed at that time a kind of republic, under a municipal government: reſtored to the monarchy, they might, by their wealth, and the character of their inhabitants, favour the factions that diſtracted the empire.

Muley Muſtadi, for fourteen months, beſieged Rabat; but, finding himſelf unable to take the place, he retired to Tedla, where he was arreſted and put in chains by the Brebes, of the party of Muley Abdallah. The Brebes of the caſile of Oordega carried him off in the night, and tranſported him into the hoſpitium of Sidi El Mati, a ſacred aſylum, the ſaints of which family had inherited the veneration of the people. Sidi El Mati eſcorted Muley Muſtadi to Sallee, where the Ba-

ſhaw, Fenis, received him with ſo much the more eagerneſs inaſmuch as that town, devoted to this prince, was totally averſe to Muley Abdallah.

Muley Muſtadi, however, finding that he was incapable of reſiſting the faction of the Negroes, or of reſtoring tranquillity to an empire ever in revolt, renounced the throne, and once more went to Arzilla, where he lived like a private perſon, and continued to trade with Europe.

Muley Abdallah thus, at length, was for the ſixth time, maſter of the empire, and the Negroes, enfeebled by ſo many diviſions, became leſs inſolent in proportion as there were fewer candidates for ſovereign power; beſide, it was no longer poſſible to ſet up the crown to the beſt bidder, or to gratify the avarice of the ſoldiers, becauſe of the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury, and of the difficulty with which contributions might any longer be raiſed in the provinces, which had been entirely laid deſolate by ſuch a ſucceſſion of revolutions.

Become

Become more prudent and circumſpect by experience, and full of reſentment againſt the Negroes, the inconſtancy of whom he had ſo often experienced, Muley Abdallah determined to ſuppreſs this audacious ſoldiery, from whoſe aid he had nothing more to hope, and from whoſe inſolence he had every thing to fear. He artfully took every occaſion to involve the Negroes in quarrels with the mountaineers, and, by his ſecret intrigues, endeavoured to render them odious to all the provinces. Under the pretence of forced contributions, the amount of which he was to receive, he often ſet the Negroes at variance with the Brebes, by whom they were held in abhorrence; keeping up a correſpondence with theſe mountaineers, the Emperor himſelf would ſend faithful troops, that the Negroes might be put between two fires, and thus ſacrificed to the public hatred, his private vengeance, and his future repoſe. By ſuch acts of barbarous policy, which had, in ſome ſort, become neceſſary, in conſequence of the avarice, fickleneſs, and preponderance of the Negroes, theſe turbulent forces, that had ſo often

often put up the empire at auction, loſt that aſcendancy they had acquired.

The Negroes being thus reduced, the Emperor recovered his power, and the empire a part of its tranquillity. Muley Abdallah was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, and remained thus in peaceable poſſeſſion till his death. Yet did not all the varieties of fortune he had felt make any change in the manners of this Moor; he ſtill preſerved the ſanguinary and cruel character he from the firſt had teſtified, and ſtill inſpired no other ſentiments than thoſe of fear and terror. Ingenious in refining on barbarity, not a week paſſed, perhaps not a day, that did not behold ſome one immolated to his choler, or his caprice.

It muſt, notwithſtanding, be acknowledged that, cruel and frantic as were the acts which diſgraced his reign, he ſtill gave tokens of ſome principles of equity and diſintereſtedneſs, which, though they cannot excuſe, ſeem, in ſome degree, to ſoften his ferocity. When any Moor whatever had committed a crime, Muley Abdallah cauſed him

him to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, without ſeizing on his wealth. An Alcaid, after having been impriſoned and condemded to death, offered to give him his riches, which were very conſiderable, would he only grant him his life. "Thy riches," anſwered the Emperor, "belong to thy "children, who are not guilty; but, as "thou art, it is but juſt that thou ſhouldeſt "periſh."

Muley Abdallah having, at length, ſuppreſſed thoſe revolutions, by which his reign had ſo often been diſturbed, he alternately made Mequinez and Morocco his places of reſidence, that he might occaſionally be preſent at each boundary of his empire, and overawe, with the greater eaſe, the provinces, whoſe inconſtancy he feared. He afterward commanded the palace, called Arbiba, to be built near New Fez, in which he paſſed the latter years of his life.

Heir to all the caprices and barbarities of Muley Iſhmael, he neither poſſeſſed his

prudence nor his policy. More generous than his father, and leſs a ſlave to the prejudices of his religion, he did not reſemble him in his diſlike of Europeans: he ſoon concluded treaties of peace with the Engliſh and the Dutch, who, in the beginning of the preſent century, enjoyed almoſt the excluſive commerce of Europe; the confidence of foreign powers, under his reign, was ſo far eſtabliſhed that ſeveral commercial houſes were ſettled at Tetuan, Sallee, Saffi, and Santa Cruz; and the merchants, as well as the ſhips of nations that were not at peace with the empire of Morocco, there enjoyed all the rights and good faith of aſylum.

After the example of his father, Muley Abdallah employed the ſlaves, whom the fate of battles gave into the power of his corſairs, on the public works; and, though he treated them with barbarous rigour, chaſtiſing and putting them to death on the ſlighteſt pretence, he ſtill held it contrary to the principles of humanity to refuſe their being redeemed; many of them were releaſed under his reign, and thus, amidſt

amidſt the moſt exceſſive cruelties, did he ſeem to be impreſſed with ſome ſentiments of humanity and juſtice.

The plague, which had laid waſte the ſtates of Morocco, under the reign of Muley Iſhmael, again committed new ravages under that of Muley Abdallah, and made its appearance in 1752, being communicated to the Moors from Algiers and Tunis, whither it had been brought from Turkey *.

It was at the commencement of the reign of Muley Abdallah, in 1732, that

* The plague was almoſt general in Turkey in the year 1751, and Conſtantinople loſt a third of its inhabitants. The ravages of this ſcourge of man were, in ſome degree, foretold by the old people, who, ſeeing the quantity of ſnow that fell in the winter of 1750 and 1751, foreboded, from experience, that the plague would become very fatal. Their prophecy was juſtified by the event, though it had by many been regarded as vague and idle. It might happen that the nitrous particles, with which the air was impregnated, increaſed the fermentation of the blood, and rendered the contagion more quick and poiſonous. I have allowed myſelf to write this note, which, perhaps, may deſerve indulgence from the accurate obſervers of nature.

the Duke de Riperda, renowned for his high rank and adventures, paſſed over to the court of Morocco. Born in the province of Groningen, and become miniſter of Spain, under Philip V., this Duke, after his diſgrace, was expoſed for a time to numerous viciſſitudes of fortune. After eſcaping from Segovia, where he was impriſoned, he went to England and Holland; his reſtleſs and turbulent temper made him liſten to the inſtigations of the Alcaid, Perez, who, at that time, reſided as ambaſſador at the Hague, and turn his thoughts toward Morocco.

Full of animoſity againſt the court of Madrid, the Duke formed the project of beſieging Ceuta, thinking he ſhould thereby involve the court of Morocco in his reſentment. He met a very kind reception from Muley Abdallah; but the ſtates of the Emperor being conſtantly a prey to revolutions, and he himſelf inconſiſtent, the Duke went to Tetuan, and made that the place of his reſidence.

Here

Here he formed various projects to diſſipate his wearineſs, and animate the Moors againſt Spain; but his motives of reſentment, and plans of revenge, were wholly ineffectual at a court which never acted from any fixed ſyſtem, and which was itſelf too much divided to concern itſelf with foreign intereſts. By nature turbulent, the Duke afterward entered into the projects of Baron Neuhof, who, under the name of Theodore, was for a moment king of Corſica.

Deſirous of prevailing on the court of Morocco to unite itſelf with the people of Tunis, who were diſpoſed to give aid to this riſing kingdom, he made many journies to the court at Mequinez, where his plan appeared to be approved; but he was amuſed only with hopes, in order to obtain preſents, and his political views were very little regarded. It is not, however, true that the Duke de Riperda became a proſelyte to Mahometaniſm; nor did he ever command the armies of Morocco, as ſome writers have affirmed. Some Moors of the country, who were particularly ac-

quainted with him, have aſſured me that he ended his life and romantic adventures at Tetuan, toward the end of the year 1737, without either changing his dreſs or his religion.

Muley Abdallah having paſſed the greater part of his life in one continued agitation, never, during the firſt years of his reign, taſting repoſe, it may be that this erratic and troubleſome life might contribute to the brutal ferocity of his character, and to that depravation of manners which made him contemned by his ſubjects. His whole poſterity conſiſted but of two male children; the eldeſt having died in the caſtle of Rabat, while heading his father's party againſt Muley Muſtadi, there only remained Sidi Mahomet, the preſent reigning Emperor.

This circumſtance prevented the diviſions, which always ariſe on the death of an Emperor, to obtain the ſucceſſion; for, as the rights of ſeniority and birth are not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to give unequivocal claim, all the ſons of the late ſovereign, anxious to poſſeſs

poſſeſs a crown, form parties; and the empire becomes the inheritance of him who is the ſtrongeſt and moſt wealthy.

Sidi Mahomet, deſirous of fixing the public opinion concerning himſelf and accuſtoming the people to obedience, obtained from his father the government of Saffi, where he paſſed a part of his youth. Several European merchants had ſettled in this city, which, at that time, was the moſt commercial on the whole coaſt; and this prince, who was exceedingly eaſy of acceſs, and whoſe views were equally to employ his time agreeably and to gain valuable information, frequently converſed with theſe merchants concerning the cuſtoms of Europe, the commerce of its nations, their taxes, and their mode of adminiſtration. At this time it was that Sidi Mahomet acquired thoſe general, vague, and imperfect ideas, which ſince have unfolded themſelves during the courſe of his reign, and which have given Europeans an advantageous opinion of his abilities. Theſe are, perhaps, held in higher conſideration among foreign nations than in his own

empire, where, however, the beſt judgement may be formed of his principles, by an actual view of their conſequences.

Deſirous of ſhewing himſelf in the provinces of the empire, Sidi Mahomet, while prince, pretended it was neceſſary he ſhould journey through them, in order to make the ſovereign authority reſpectable, which authority he inſenſibly appropriated to himſelf: he traverſed thoſe of Duquella, Tedla, and Temſena, where he levied many contributions, to his own profit, with a high hand. At his return, his father, who had retired to Fez, entruſted him with the government of Morocco, and there he reſided with one of his couſins, Muley Driis, an enlightened prince, who, in the firſt advances of Sidi Mahomet toward empire, aided him by his advice and abilities.

Of all the princes who had diſputed ſovereign power with Muley Abdallah, Muley Muſtadi was the only one who, whenever his brother ſhould die, might raiſe an inſurrection in the provinces of the North.

Sidi

Sidi Mahomet, in order to prevent any ſuch attempts, ſent him notice to quit Arzilla, and to go and reſide at Fez, where he, a ſhort time after, died.

The better to eſtabliſh his authority in the north of the empire, Sidi Mahomet left Morocco, in 1755, accompanied by an army, and preſented himſelf, during the month of Auguſt, before Rabat and Sallee, which places, ſince the reign of Muley Iſhmael, had been governed by a ſpecial adminiſtration of their own, and formed a kind of republic. This regency, though feudatory to the empire, appeared to preſcribe limits to the ſovereign authority. The inhabitants of theſe combined towns, known by the name of Saletines, or Sallee rovers, fitted out corſairs at their own expence, and were in poſſeſſion of the gains of piracy, and the advantages of commerce, which, by the ſituation of thoſe towns on the ſea ſhore, and the induſtry of the people, had become conſiderable.

The wealth and independence of theſe two cities afforded motives ſufficiently

pow e.ful

powerful to enflame the ambition of the prince, covetous as he was of riches, and desirous of empire. Sidi Mahomet had further cauſe of enmity againſt theſe places, ariſing from the wavering ſtate in which they remained during the revolutions that had diſturbed the reign of his father. This was remembered with rancour by the prince, and thus had the recollection of the wealth they contained, their independence, and the part they had taken in behalf of Muley Muſtadi, long excited his avidity and his reſentment.

Rabat and Sallee, though united by a confederation, which ſituation, mutual convenience, and contiguity, rendered neceſſary, were, nevertheleſs, diſturbed by that ſpirit of reſtleſſneſs ſo natural to the Moors, and by a diverſity of intereſts, which were continual and unceaſing cauſes of quarrels and diſſenſions. On the approach of Sidi Mahomet, however, they united their forces, and reſolved to refuſe entrance to the prince.

Rabat,

Rabat, faithful to its engagements, obſtinately defended its walls; but the Baſhaw, Fenis, who commanded at Sallee, deſirous of obtaining the favours of the prince, and by his ſubmiſſion of conferring an obligation on Sidi Mahomet, as he had before done on Muley Muſtadi, repaired, in company with the principal men of the city, to the camp of the prince, on the 26th of Auguſt, there to ſupplicate for clemency and reward. Sidi Mahomet pardoned the Baſhaw, Fenis, and ſent him back exceedingly well ſatisfied, but, ſome time after, took an opportunity to effect his deſtruction, and had him ſtoned to death in his preſence.

After the reduction of the city of Sallee, that of Rabat, which found a difficulty of preventing communication by the river, was alſo obliged to ſubmit. Sidi Mahomet impriſoned the principal perſons in the government, behaved to them like a haughty victor, and obliged them to pay heavy contributions. One of the inhabitants, whoſe name was Miſteri, exceedingly wealthy, and at the head of the confederants, en-

gaged to ſupply the place with food himſelf during a year; but the brother of this republican betrayed him to the prince, whom he informed of the ſtate of the place. Miſteri was ſtripped of his property, as a puniſhment for his firm reſiſtance; and his brother was made governor of Rabat, as a reward for his treachery.

All the inhabitants of the city were made to feel the reſentment of the prince. Three merchant's houſes, two French, one Engliſh, and a Spaniſh convent, were not excepted. The monks, who had no property, were made ſlaves, and where afterward ranſomed. The merchants themſelves were not releaſed till each of them had firſt paid ten thouſand piaſtres, and theſe were paid in effects, which were eſtimated at ſo low a price that their ranſom amounted to double the ſum. The Engliſh merchant, for having ſold gunpowder to Muley Muſtadi, was treated with ſtill greater rigour; and, after having been expoſed to various humiliations and violences, hung himſelf in deſpair. The taking of Rabat and Sallee

expoſed

expoſed the inhabitants of theſe two places to very conſiderable impoſitions, but coſt none of them their lives, the Baſhaw, Fenis, alone excepted, who was put to death ſome time afterward, and who was the ſole victim the prince appears to have ſacrificed to his reſentment. Perhaps this is the only act of cruelty with which he can be reproached; and, for the commiſſion of which, he has himſelf teſtified his repentance.

By that contradiction which is either natural to man, to the character of this prince, or, perhaps, to arbitrary power, Sidi Mahomet chaſtiſed Sallee for having received, and Rabat for not having received, Muley Muſtadi. He, with greater reaſon, reproached the inhabitants of the latter place for their conduct toward his brother, whom they had beſieged and almoſt ſtarved to death, in the caſtle where he had ſhut himſelf up, when defending the rights and intereſts of his father, Muley Abdallah.

After

After having ſubjected the cities of Rabat and Sallee, Sidi Mahomet marched into the North of the empire, where he obliged the Alcaid, Lucas, Governor of Tetuan, to render up an account of his adminiſtration. This Alcaid, who had taken advantage of the diſtance of the court, and the feebleneſs of the government, in the latter part of the reign of Muley Abdallah, to extend his own authority, was ſtripped of his property and power.

Sidi Mahomet reformed various abuſes during the life of his father, with whom he almoſt divided the empire, till, at laſt, Muley Abdallah, worn out by age, and ſtill more by the troubles he had met with during his reign, died on the 12th of November, 1757, in his palace at Fez, where he had only preſerved the ſhadow of authority.

Expoſed as he was himſelf, in the firſt years of his reign, to all the caprices of fortune, and as his ſubjects were to all thoſe of his own temper, this Emperor ſtill had ſome good qualities, which were clouded by a much

a much greater number of vices. He poſſeſſed courage, judgment, and generoſity; but was violent, ſanguinary, and addicted to drunkenneſs, and to a depraved and infamous vice, which he made faſhionable at his court. The ferocity of his character ſeemed to be the conſequence of an atrabilarious conſtitution, and which diſplayed itſelf periodically, occaſioned, perhaps, by the greater or leſs agitation of the blood.

He one day made a preſent of two thouſand ducats to a confidential domeſtic, and adviſed him to go and live far from his preſence, that he might not be expoſed to the effects of his fury. The attachment to his maſter was ſo great that the ſervant refuſed, and, in one of his barbarous fits, Muley Abdallah ſhot this faithful ſervant, reproaching him with his folly for not having left him as he had been adviſed.

As he was paſſing the river of Beth on horſeback, at the place where it falls into the Seboo, the Emperor was in danger of being drowned, when one of his Negroes

ran

ran to his ſuccour and preſerved his life. The ſlave congratulated himſelf for having ſaved his maſter, when the Emperor, drawing his ſabre clave him down, and exclaimed, "Here is an infidel! To ſuppoſe "that he had ſaved me! As if God ſtood "in need of his intervention to ſave a "ſharif."

Without publicly neglecting the rites of the law, Muley Abdallah paid little reſpect to popular prejudices, and put to death ſeveral Moors, whoſe ſanctity had been held in veneration. He one day killed two Marabouts, who came from the neighbourhood of Tunis, and who informed him they were ſaints. "You "ſaints!" ſaid the Emperor. "You are "no ſaints. You are impoſtors, who, "abuſing the credulity of the people, "come here as ſpies." After which he fired a muſket at each, and laid them dead at his feet.

A ſaint, revered throughout the country, having come to the court of this prince to remonſtrate to him concerning his mode of life,

life, ſo contrary to the laws of Mahomet, ſaid to the Emperor: "The prophet himſelf has ordained me to come, on his part, and ſpeak to thee thus ——And did the prophet tell thee in what manner I ſhould receive thee?—Yes, he told me that you would be affected by the words which he commanded me to ſpeak, and that you would employ them to your advantage—Then he has deceived thee," ſaid the Emperor, diſcharging at the ſame moment his piece, which laid the ſaint lifeleſs; and, farther to puniſh his temerity, he would not permit his body to be buried.

An Alcaid, who had been guilty of diſobedience, having come to the court of Muley Abdallah to implore pardon, the Emperor commanded him to be beheaded. He then ordered dinner to be ſerved to the officers who had accompanied this Alcaid, and to place in the diſh of Cooſcooſoo, out of which they were to eat, this bloody head, that they might not ſoon forget the puniſhment diſobedience merited.

Thus did this prince make his crimes and executions his amuſement. Enough has been ſaid of him; it were but to inſult humanity to add more traits of the cruelty of his character.

BOOK

BOOK V.

The reign of Sidi Mahomet—Commercial regulations—Adminiſtration, public and domeſtic—Inſurrections—Wars, Locuſts, Famine—Character of the Emperor—Commerce of the Empire—Duties, Coins, Weights, and Meaſures.

INTRODUCTION.

After the death of Muley Abdallah, his only ſon, Sidi Mahomet, who, during the life of his father, had already accuſtomed the people to reſpect his authority, ſucceeded to the empire without oppoſition.

The reign of this Emperor has not been varied by revolutions, or victories; neither is it ſullied by thoſe acts of violence, and barbarity, which ſo dreadfully ſtained the ſceptre of his predeceſſors. I have imagined, the beſt mode of giving a clear idea of his reign would be briefly to examine the ſeveral regulations attending it, and the principal events. Theſe combined will preſent a faithful picture of the character, the genius, and the views of Sidi Mahomet, and of the preſent ſtate of the empire of Morocco. I ſhall therefore ſpeak ſeparately of the diſpoſitions and plans of this Emperor, relative to commerce and taxation, to the general adminiſtration of the government, the domeſtic and œconomical affairs of the palace, the few inſurrections that have happened during his reign, and the events by which it has been diſtinguiſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The diſpoſitions and views of Sidi Mahomet relative to commerce and taxation.

THE empire having been ſo long diſturbed by revolutions, under the reign of Muley Abdallah, the diſtant provinces lived in a kind of independence. The governors had uſurped more authority, and the treaſury had been exhauſted by the avidity of the ſoldiers, and the capricious manner in which money was ſquandered by that Emperor. Sidi Mahomet, ripened by age and experience when he aſcended the throne, applied himſelf to find means of quickly re-eſtabliſhing the finances, and ſupplying the ſtate treaſury; and with the care of making arbitrary power reſpected throughout the provinces, which power had

been ſomewhat enfeebled by the concuſſions of the late troubleſome reign.

The information he had acquired, concerning commerce and taxation, occaſioned the Emperor to perceive that, of all political advantages, that which tended to revive commerce in a nation could alone augment its revenues, and repair its loſſes. The profits ariſing from piracy, an occupation which was expoſed to real loſſes and uncertain gains, might, on the one part, provoke the reſentment of nations, the maritime forces of which were daily augmenting, while, on the other, the barter of the productions of the empire would aſcertain to him thoſe more abundant reſources of wealth which accrue from agriculture.

Reflexions like theſe determined Sidi Mahomet to make peace with the powers of Europe. After confirming that already made between Morocco, England, and Holland, he, in the beginning of his reign, concluded treaties with Denmark and Sweden ſucceſſively; and, in the following

years, with the republic of Venice, France, Spain, and Portugal. In 1782, the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany made peace, and the other powers of Italy enjoy a kind of truce with the empire of Morocco.

Before the reign of Sidi Mahomet the nations of Europe had formed commercial connections on the coaſt of Morocco, and thoſe who were not at peace with the empire ſtill enjoyed the ſafety of aſylum. True it is that the inſtability of the government ſomewhat diminiſhed the confidence of nations; and the little ſecurity the roads of Morocco afforded, in winter, was an obſtacle to the increaſe of navigation. At that time there were only a few ſafe ports on the coaſt of the empire. They were dangerous from the impediments of bars, and the ignorance, avarice, or evil intentions, of the pilots.

In order to aid commerce, and encreaſe the glory of his reign, Sidi Mahomet cauſed the town of Mogodor to be built in the ſouth part of his empire, where nature had formed

a port acceſſible in all ſeaſons. The Emperor encouraged foreign merchants to erect houſes in this new city, by giving them to ſuppoſe the duties of the cuſtoms ſhould be leſſened. The Moors and the Jews alſo built houſes there to pleaſe their Maſter; and Mogodor, as I have already obſerved, is built with more regularity than any other city of the empire.

After having thus founded Mogodor, the principal expence of which was ſupported by foreign commerce, the Emperor, who began to take delight in building, ordered the fortreſſes of Laracha and Rabat to be repaired, embelliſhed each of theſe cities with ſome edifices and public markets, and, at the ſame time, made additions to his palace at Morocco, for which he has a degree of predilection. After he had extended the circumference of this palace, he cauſed new pavillions to be added, built with taſte by European maſons.

In 1773, Sidi Mahomet commanded the foundation of the town of Fedale to be laid, which was then begun, but which has never

never been finiſhed. Theſe undertakings have been neglected, purſued, or again abandoned, according to the temporary change of circumſtances, or, perhaps, becauſe the revenues of the Emperor are inſufficient to ſupport ſuch expences. Neither do cities ſeem ſo neceſſary, in theſe temperate climates, where the people are habituated to a ſolitary country life, as they are in latitudes leſs mild.

The confidence which the regulations, political views, and perſonal character, of Sidi Mahomet inſpired, among foreign nations, at firſt multiplied mercantile eſtabliſhments on the coaſt of Morocco. Merchants ſettled at Santa Cruz, Mogodor, Saffi, Rabat, Laracha, and Tetuan. There were even too many, and their purpoſes were ſubverted by their own eagerneſs. The Emperor ſucceſſively increaſed the duties, hoping thereby to augment his revenues; but this oppreſſion, however, produced an effect the very reverſe. Shackled thus by taxation, commerce grew languid.

The Emperor, pretending to give it new animation, became a merchant himſelf; and this did but increaſe the evil, for it did but increaſe reſtraint. Obliged to ſell their wares and to purchaſe the country products at ſuch prices as the deſpot pleaſed to fix, merchants became merely his factors, and were conſtrained to remove from port to port in his empire, wherever he choſe to indicate, as beſt ſuited his convenience, or to thoſe to which he gave the preference.

By this means the channel of trade was interrupted. The farmer and the foreign trader, reaping no fruit from the labours of their induſtry, and unable to reſiſt the current of authority, are wholly diſcouraged; the fields lie waſte, the markets are deſerted, and, of all the mercantile houſes diſperſed over the coaſt of Morocco, there ſcarcely remain ſix. United at Mogodor, and accuſtomed to the variations of the government, they have to ſtruggle againſt the extortions excited by the ſpirit of intereſt, and which, at one moment increaſed,

creaſed, at the next relaxed, are never certain.

More enlightened than his predeceſſors, Sidi Mahomet, in 1766, made a regulation which betokened extenſive views; but, not being directed by invariable principles, its effect was merely momentary. At that time there was a conſiderable quantity of corn amaſſed, in the maritime provinces, which long had been incloſed in Matamores *, and there expoſed to periſh, exportation being prohibited by the law. The Emperor, whoſe ſyſtem was more humane and more œconomical, wiſhing to conciliate the wants of the nation with its prejudices, and give his plan a legal ſanction, aſſembled the learned in the law, and propoſed to them his difficulties concerning the exportation of corn.

* Corn can only be preſerved in ſuch kind of pits in hot countries; and it appears probable that the reaſon is becauſe the corn, there, is firm and hard. The wheat reaped in the northern countries of Europe, which is called ſoft corn, could not be ſo preſerved. Yet this difference in the grain is accidental, and relative to the nature of the ſoil and the climate, and not to its own inherent qualities.

" I have

" I have need," ſaid the Emperor, " of " arms and ammunition, for the defence of " our religion; but, by purchaſing them, " I muſt exhauſt the treaſures of the ſtate. " Would it be contrary to our law to pro- " cure theſe things, by giving in exchange " corn which we cannot eat ourſelves, and " which, in time, muſt periſh?"

The propoſition was ſo clear, and the neceſſity alſo of approving the will of the deſpot ſo great, that the aſſembly concluded ſuch barter would be entirely legal, and the exportation of corn was permitted in exchange for mortars, cannon, and gunpowder. The Emperor, at length, received money for it, becauſe that, with money, arms and ammunition may be bought. In a ſhort time he had collected not only artillery, bombs, and mortars, but ſome millions of livres, while the provinces that had ſold their corn had this additional reſource to pay their enforced contributions, which, in the Empire of Morocco, is the uſual conſequence of wealth, a tax on their fickleneſs, and the pledge of their

their fidelity. Thus did this excellent regulation benefit the Emperor alone.

The exportation of corn from the coaſt of Morocco would become an inexhauſtible ſource of barter and wealth, to the ſubject and to the ſtate, were only a moderate taxation impoſed, which might encourage agriculture. But, in free ſtates only, and governments that ſeriouſly are active to procure happineſs to man, are ſuch advantages well underſtood; therefore do we only behold the lands rich and fruitful in thoſe happy countries where agriculture is encouraged; while the provinces of Morocco, naturally fertile, yet overrun with brambles, are little better than deſerts, and where the generations of men languiſh and inſenſibly diminiſh.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the public Adminiſtration under Sidi Mahomet.

IT has before been ſhewn that the government of Morocco is wholly ſubordidinate to the will of the deſpot, and that he confides the regulation of the provinces and cities of his empire to his Alcaids and Baſhaws. It has likewiſe been obſerved that the Emperor himſelf, three times a week, gives public audiences to enforce juſtice, and at which all his ſubjects, without exception, are heard. This ſyſtem, which cannot be too much admired, prevents malverſation, and the abuſe of authority among the chiefs. It gives the ſovereign an opportunity of knowing the truth, which it is the intereſt of his courtiers to conceal, of becoming acquainted with whatever

whatever paſſes in his ſtates, even to their utmoſt boundaries, and enables him to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of juſtice.

After the acceſſion of Sidi Mahomet, this judicious Emperor, deſirous of effacing all recollection of the caprices of his father, wholly employed himſelf in the reſtoration of order, of re-eſtabliſhing rules for government, and uniformity in the deciſions of juſtice. Well knowing the talents and penetration of Muley Dris, his relation, with whom he had paſſed a part of his youth, he made him his friend, repoſed entire confidence in him, and almoſt raiſed him to the rank of his aſſociate in the empire.

Muley Dris was a penetrating and enlightened prince. Though covetous of riches, he ſtill was generous to his Maſter. Subtle, ſagacious, and fertile in expedients, he ſoon brought all affairs to paſs through his hands, and almoſt governed the empire under the ſhadow of the monarch. That he might conform to the taſte of the Emperor, he appeared in public with the utmoſt

moſt ſimplicity. But, for this abſtinence, he amply recompenſed himſelf in his palace and in his gardens, where he lived voluptuouſly.

Muley Dris almoſt excluſively appropriated to himſelf the adminiſtration of European affairs. This was to him a ſecret ſource of wealth, which, by his management and addreſs, became inexhauſtible. Not one perſon at the court of Morocco could treat ſuch ſubjects with greater dexterity, or could ſo artfully varniſh, or give effect to, his good or his ill offices. Full of diſſimulation with foreigners, who came to viſit him, he oſtentatiouſly diſplayed his cabinets, richly ornamented with ſilver plate, china, and jewels, which he had re-received as preſents from various courts. Like a cunning courtezan, who knows artfully to ſtimulate the generoſity of her lover, he, with ſubtlety, inſinuated to one nation how much he had received from another, to excite emulation, and the deſire of pleaſing him, by the largeneſs of their gifts. Thus acquainted with the human heart, he ſported with the vanity of individuals,

individuals, and raiſed a rivalſhip between nations.

The wealth which Muley Dris had thus accumulated has had a ſimilar fate to that of all other individuals, in Morocco, who have preceded him, or ſurvived. Acquired as it was by the influence of the ſovereign, it has become a part of the treaſures of the ſtate, which muſt, at length, inſenſibly engulph the whole riches of the empire. This prince was, various times before his death, ſtripped of a part of his property, and the Emperor took care to ſecure what remained after his deceaſe, fearing leſt his children, who were young, might make an ill uſe of their money.

Muley Dris, after having indulged in pleaſure to exceſs, died in March, 1772, of a dropſy, which appeared to be the conſequence of his irregularities. He made an immoderate uſe of the Achicha, which is of a nature ſo heating, and which rendered him ſo eholeric and ferocious; that there was no barbarity he was not capable to

commit during his intoxication. He had inherited the vices of his anceſtors, was intemperate, covetous, and cruel; and, had fortune raiſed him to power, he would have walked in the paths of Muley Arſhid, Muley Iſhmael, and Muley Abdallah.

After the death of this prince, Sidi Mahomet having no confidential perſon whom he entruſted, indulged his own character more freely. Some of his ſelfiſh agents, whom he appoints or depoſes at pleaſure, are charged with the execution of his orders. They are become the inſtruments by whom all buſineſs muſt be tranſacted, and negociations are now more tedious and more uncertain. Each new reſolution is expoſed to thoſe variations which muſt be the reſult, under a government the ſyſtem of which is to conſult the intereſt of the moment.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the domeſtic affairs and interior œconomy of the palace.

SIDI Mahomet does not awe the ſpectator by any oſtentation of magnificence. The friend of ſimplicity, and without the leaſt inclination for luxury, this Emperor is only diſtinguiſhed from the grandees of his court by being on horſeback, and protected from the ſunbeams by an umbrella, which, in Morocco, is the diſtinctive mark of ſovereignty. The numerous retinue of officers, ſoldiers, pages, and ſecretaries, who appertain to the court, beſpeak the preſence of the monarch, who never appears in public but on horſeback, or in his caleſh. He is never ſeen on foot, except in his palace, at his devotions, or, on ſome few occaſions, in his gardens. He

never travels in a carriage, becauſe of the bad ſtate of the roads.

The Emperor of Morocco, only on days of ceremony, or when he holds his Meſhooar, that is, his council, or audience, appears with all his pomp, which then rather conſiſts in the number than in the ſplendour of his train. When he leaves his palace, for his amuſement or to viſit the public works, he diſplays no pomp; and he has been ſometimes ſeen in a ſhallop, on the Sallee river, with not more than two attendants.

The cuſtoms of the court of Morocco, and thoſe of the Ottoman court, bear no reſemblance. The latter is remarkable for its magnificence, the former for its ruſtic ſimplicity. At the court of the Grand Seignior, the adminiſtration of the government, and that of the palace, are entruſted to a number of miniſters, who themſelves live in great ſtate, and poſſeſs great power. At Morocco, the Deſpot grants his ſubjects only fleeting and momentary confidence. They attend on him but to execute

cute his commands, without poſſeſſing any ſtable or permanent authority.

Female negro ſlaves have the care of the palace, and of the kitchen. The Emperor has occaſionally ſent for European cooks and bakers; but, wanting the conveniences to which they had been accuſtomed, unacquainted with the manners of the Moors, ignorant of the language, and not eaſily habituating themſelves to a kind of wandering life, theſe Europeans never ſettled at the court of Morocco. The monarch being, alſo, naturally temperate, troubles himſelf little concerning ſuch things. He has not ſo much as any fixed hour of dinner.

The table of the palace is ſerved with great uniformity. The Moors eat only to live, and are unacquainted with that multitude of diſhes, and that variety of ſauces, which, in Europe, are objects of ſo much induſtry and expence. Sidi Mahomet generally eats alone, and thoſe officers who perſonally attend on him are afterward ſerved from his table. Each of the Emperor's

wives has a ſeparate table, which is ſufficiently ſupplied to ſuffice for all her attendants. Cooſcooſoo, which has been deſcribed in its proper place, is the chief diſh of the Moors, as well in the palace of the Emperor as in the hovel of the ſubject; and this is dreſſed in ſuch quantities that the veſſel that contains it is ſometimes carried on a kind of chairman's horſe.

The palace of the Emperor contains numerous ſervants of both ſexes, who are new cloathed once a year. On this occaſion all the taylors in the city are ſummoned, who uſually are Jews, and they are obliged to labour gratis. This is a ſpecies of corvée, or tax, for which they indemnify themſelves, when they can, by filching. Moſt trades are obliged to work gratis for the Emperor. The proprietor of a lime kiln muſt ſet apart a tenth for the ſervice of the monarch; each article of merchandize, or induſtry, which is ſubjected to a like taxation, becomes more dear in proportion, and what the prince does not pay the purchaſer muſt. The Emperor is ſerved by ſlaves, who receive no other wages than what ariſe from

from the profits or perquiſites of the buſineſs they tranſact. He is at no expence, except that of feeding and cloathing his family, and which yet is defrayed out of the product of the tenths, and the cuſtom-houſe duties, ſo that he ſeldom has any occaſion to diſburſe money.

In the palace of the Emperor is a guard of women, with their female commanders, who are called Harriffa, and who form a kind of court, the province of which is the chaſtiſement of women. Theſe Harriffa are ſent over the country to put the wives of the grandees to the torture, when the latter are impriſoned, and to make them confeſs all they know concerning the wealth of their huſbands.

The luxury of the ladies of the palace is not very great. They depend on the generoſity of the ſovereign, which, in Sidi Mahomet, is wholly actuated by the greater or leſs degree of love they inſpire. Such women as have not greatly pleaſed the monarch are often neglected, forgotten, and left in one imperial city, when the Em-

peror removes to another. This practice gives credibility to the opinion that acceſs to the palace of the Emperor, in Morocco, is not ſo difficult as at Conſtantinople, where the women are ſhut up, and guarded with greater auſterity. The women at the court of the Grand Seignior are kept in much greater ſplendor, and are held in much higher eſteem than in theſe ſouthern climates, where the Seraglio is renewed ſo often that they can only inſpire a fleeting paſſion. The preſent Emperor has been known to ſend back to a Baſhaw one of his daughters, to whom he had been only married ſix months.

The wives of the Emperor of Morocco, who are legally eſpouſed, are not ſlaves, but are generally either princeſſes, the daughters of Sharifs, the daughters of the governors of provinces, or of private individuals. The Great Queen, for ſuch is the title they give to the firſt wife, was the daughter of Muley Soliman, and grand daughter of Muley Arſhid. This princeſs, who, by right of priority, had precedence over all the other women of the palace, enjoyed,

enjoyed, during her life, by the rights of birth and perſonal merit, a very high aſcendancy over the mind of the Emperor. The very ſame reaſon, alſo, enſured to her the attachment and veneration of the people, ſhe having ever, with the utmoſt prudence, attended to the government of Morocco, when the monarch was abſent. The regret of the empire, at her death, was equal to her merit and her virtues.

Sidi Mahomet has a great number of children. His daughters, married to ſharifs, have diſtricts aſſigned them, and, during the life of the Emperor, reſide in the palace, where they are miſtreſſes of their own actions. In order to provide for his ſons, as ſoon as they are married the Emperor beſtows upon them the governments of provinces and cities, where theſe young princes, indulging all the intemperance and follies of youth, and yielding to the advice and rapacity of their ſervants, inflict every kind of vexation, while the ſubjects have neither the fortitude nor the liberty to complain. Thus, in the adminiſtration of their offices do they imbibe the art of oppreſſing the people,

people; and, when their extortions raiſe univerſal diſcontent, which can no longer be concealed, they are puniſhed by confiſcation for the benefit of the public treaſury. After this diſplay of juſtice, oppreſſion once more recommences; the treaſury ſwells, and the miſerable people are the eternal victims.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Revolutions that have happened during the reign of Sidi Mahomet.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reſtleſs ſpirit of the provinces, under the ever-agitated reign of Muley Abdallah, the tranquillity became great, when Sidi Mahomet aſcended the throne. That diſcontent, which ever muſt ariſe from public wretchedneſs, may often have brooded in ſecret, but has ſince ſeldom burſt forth. This Emperor has maintained a calm throughout his ſtates, by occaſionally going in perſon to their utmoſt boundaries. Wherever he appeared, ſome pretext for levying contributions generally has attended him; either originating in complaints againſt the governors, or in the prejudices and diviſions which are unceaſing, among thoſe tribes which

which inhabit the provinces. The paſſions by which the Moors are tormented are never ending motives for inflicting pecuniary puniſhment. All their quarrels, their reconciliations, all acts of authority, of mercy, or of juſtice, are inceſſantly concluded by the payment of ſome quintals of ſilver. Such trifling diſputes give the monarch no inquietude; they do but draw his attention for a moment. It is even a part of his policy to maintain and provoke theſe miſunderſtandings; they are the ſafeguard of the deſpot, and ſeldom fail to turn to the advantage of his treaſury.

Sidi Mahomet had reigned fifteen years, when, in 1772, ſome ſeeds of thoſe revolutions, which had ſo often overthrown this empire in its birth, began to appear. A Marabout, whoſe enthuſiaſtic imagination was enflamed by pride and fanaticiſm, departed from the ſouth, which had been the cradle of all the ancient dynaſties, accompanied by a number of his diſciples, united by the ſpirit of bigottry.

Theſe

Theſe viſionaries, amounting to about three thouſand, went to Morocco, and informed the Emperor that the end of his reign approached, and that their chief was to become the ſovereign. The only arms of the companions of this Marabout were fanatic predictions, and clubs, which they, in the extravagance of their phrenzy, propheſied ſhould be transformed into guns, while the arms of their adverſaries ſhould, on the contrary, be metamorphoſed into clubs.

It ſo happened, however, that their prophecies were not fulfilled. The enthuſiaſts were hewn down, and put to flight, like cowards, by a few ſoldiers; and their chief, who had encouraged them in their reveries, having been ſeized in a moſque, was led before the Emperor at his public audience. The Marabout anſwered all interrogatories with the fortitude and impudence of an inſpired perſon, and the Emperor commanded him to be put to death, at the Meſhooar, as a diſturber of the public peace.

From

From that time, till the year 1778, the provinces gave no ſigns of ſedition ſufficient to inſpire fear. Thoſe of the north, according to the cuſtom of this people, began to be a little troubleſome when the Emperor was in the ſouth, and thoſe of the ſouth did juſt the ſame when he was in the north; but the preſence of the monarch, and pecuniary fines, brought them back to obedience; and thus did the Emperor at once increaſe his wealth and confirm his authority.

The treaſury was exhauſted, in 1774, by the ſiege of Melilla, and a ſucceſſion of calamities having prevented the Emperor proportioning his expences to his revenues, and again filling his coffers, he found himſelf obliged to increaſe the old taxes, and even to add new. The Negroes, the arrears of whoſe pay progreſſively increaſed, murmured againſt theſe new taxes, and, at length, in October 1778, drove the tax gatherers from Mequinez, and ſeized on the city.

After an act of ſuch open rebellion, the Negroes ſent a deputation to Muley Ali, at Fez, the eldeſt ſon of Sidi Mahomet, to offer him the empire. This wiſe prince, incapable of failing in the reſpect he owed to his father, rejected the propoſal, endeavoured ineffectually to calm the minds of the people, and thought proper to retire to Rabat, that he might not provoke the inſolence of the Negroes by a more obſtinate refuſal.

Muley Ali having thus declined, the Negroes determined to apply to Muley Yezid, who did not betoken the like repugnance to the throne, and this prince, beloved by the ſoldiers, was publicly proclaimed at the hour of prayer. This revolution cauſed an inſurrection at Mequinez. The governor of that city found a difficulty in eſcaping, amid the firing of muſkets, and his houſe was pillaged and pulled down.

Muley Yezid, notwithſtanding, thought proper to inform his father of what had happened, and make excuſes concerning the facility with which he had yielded to

the

the deſire of the ſoldiers, hoping by that means once more to reduce them to obedience. This conduct of Muley Yezid, and ſome miſintelligence among the Negroes, relaxed the progreſs of the revolution, which would have been effected, had the prince, who was neither poſſeſſed of money nor credit, marched at the head of his troops to Rabat. Reinforced as he would have been by eight thouſand Negroes, who were there aſſembled, he might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of the treaſury, which had, very injudiciouſly, for ſome years, been diſtributed in the cities of Rabat, Laracha, and Tangiers. The poſſeſſion of theſe places, which might have been taken in a week, would have rendered Muley Yezid maſter of the empire. The firſt efferveſcence of tumult over, as is the caſe in all popular commotions, ſedition weakened in conſequence of reflection, of the inexperience of the prince, and the irreſolution of the ſoldiers, who, themſelves, had only a confuſed idea of the inſurrections their predeceſſors had ſo often raiſed, in the beginning of this century. A calm ſucceeded this ſlight tempeſt, and the revolt

volt at Mequinez ceaſed of itſelf without farther progreſs.

Informed of this rebellion, the Emperor departed from Morocco with his troops, and, on his march, ſecured the fidelity of thoſe who were at Rabat. He then continued his way to Mequinez, where he was received as a ſovereign. Each party, equally agitated by fear, gave contradictory relations of what had paſſed.

From Mequinez the Emperor went to Fez. This city, which, from its extent and antiquity, has ſome preponderance in the affairs of the empire, had adopted ſimilar ideas to thoſe of the ſoldiers, had ſtrengthened their diſſatisfaction, and given it importance. The principal citizens, and men of the law, being reproached by the Emperor for their diſobedience to his orders, replied, with like firmneſs and reſpect, "That the city of Fez meaned not to diſ-"obey him, nor ever ſo could mean, but "that the taxes laid on proviſions, the in-"creaſe of duties on merchants, and the

" new impoſts which had been laid, and
" which Muſſelmen regarded as contrary
" to their cuſtoms, and inimical to reli-
" gion, were conſiderations that, to a
" prince ſo juſt and ſo religious, might ex-
" cuſe the general murmur and diſcontent
" of the people."

Sidi Mahomet, yielding to circumſtances, prudently diſſembled all reſentment; but, being convinced by intercepted letters that his ſon, Muley Yezid, maintained a correſpondence with the Brebes, which was ſuſceptible of dangerous interpretation, he cauſed him to be confined, and afterward ſent him on pilgrimage to Mecca, by that means to calm his unbridled paſſions, and render him more circumſpect. Grown wiſer by age and experience, the prince reaped thoſe fruits from this voyage which are the uſual conſequences of the ſtudy of men, and the knowledge gained by viſiting foreign nations.

However inclined to clemency, Sidi Mahomet could not forget the audacious conduct of his negro ſoldiers at Mequinez,

and accordingly took meaſures to rid himſelf of theſe turbulent troops, the impatience of which daily became more burdenſome, and whoſe fickleneſs and avarice had ſo frequently been experienced by his father.

The exhauſted treaſury could with difficulty ſupply the pay of the troops. The country, ravaged as it had been by locuſts, in 1779, and by three ſucceſſive years of dearth for want of rain, which increaſed its wretchedneſs, no longer permitted the people to pay thoſe impoſts which time and circumſtances had multiplied. There were not above ten millions of livres, or ſomewhat more than four hundred thouſand pounds, in the treaſury, and four of theſe millions were neceſſary for the ſupport, in theſe calamitous times, of thirty, or thirty-five thouſand negro cavalry.

In this embarraſſing ſituation the Emperor determined, in 1780, to reduce a part of theſe forces, from whoſe unquiet ſpirit he had every thing to dread. That he might diſguiſe his intention, and prevent thoſe inconveniences which might other-

wiſe have been the reſult, he ſent theſe Negroes away by detachments, pretending they muſt go and be quartered in the provinces; and, by an after order, ſent ſtill ſtronger detachments to diſarm the firſt, and appoint them lands, in different countries, ſufficiently diſtant from each other for him not to live in fear of their communication. A part of them, the fidelity of whoſe chiefs he was aſſured of, were ſtill maintained; thus, in the courſe of ſixty years, the hundred thouſand armed Negroes, whom Muley Iſhmael had left, and their poſterity, are reduced to about fifteen thouſand ſoldiers. All the remainder have diſappeared.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Wars, Locuſts, Famine, and other events, under the reign of Sidi Mahomet.

THE Emperor having employed the beginning of his reign to re-eſtabliſh commerce throughout his ſtates, he afterward made various incurſions into the provinces bordering on the mountains, there to confirm and render his power reſpectable. Theſe expeditions, undertaken from motives of intereſt, conciliation, and peace, never were of that impetuous and cruel kind with thoſe by which the people had ſo often been afflicted, under the barbarous government of his predeceſſors.

Scarcely had this Emperor collected, in 1767 and 1768, a quantity of artillery, than,

in the beginning of 1769, he made preparations for the ſiege of Mazagan, which the Portugueſe had reſolved to evacuate, and which ſurrendered in the month of march, in the ſame year.

Flattered by this conqueſt, Sidi Mahomet, who thus inſpired Europe with a greater idea of his puiſſance, and his people with higher awe, meditated projects ſtill more ambitious. Having permitted farther exportations of corn, from the year 1771 to the cloſe of 1773, he ſtill farther increaſed his train of artillery; and, in order to conceal his intentions, he went into the north of his empire, and took up his reſidence for ſome time at Rabat and Sallee. The diſlike which the Emperor had entertained to theſe two cities, which, in times of former revolutions, had thrown off their allegiance to his father, ſerved as a pretence to make reſearches concerning the effects and houſes that had appertained to the royal domain, and he recovered that vaſt incloſure which, ſince the reign of Jacob Almonſor, after having ſo often had new maſters,

maſters, had been embelliſhed by gardens and a fine vineyard.

When this vineyard flouriſhed, ſix pounds of exceeding good grapes might have been bought for a blanquil, worth about ſeven farthings. In 1775 a ſingle pound of grapes coſt ſix blanquils, or ten pence, ſo that the price was increaſed in the proportion of thirty ſix to one.

Beſide this eſtimable incloſure, the inhabitants of Rabat farther loſt ſeveral houſes, and were even expoſed to the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, which, during this time of prejudice, ſtole, with impunity, their flocks, their fruits, and corn. Sidi Mahomet cauſed the ground plot of a new town to be marked out, in a place called Guadel, which, in the idiom of the country, ſignifies reſerve, and to which town he gave this ſame name, and cauſed it to be inhabited by five thouſand of his Negro troops.

Guadel, which this monarch cauſed to be embelliſhed with various moſques and

public edifices, is at preſent deſerted, and the houſes have all gone to ruin ſince the time when, from political motives, the Negroes were reduced and diſperſed. Scarcely built in 1776, this town was no more, in 1781, than a frightful heap of ruins, which ſeemed to have eſcaped the fury of men and of the elements. The monarch afterward, more juſt, ſuffered each individual to reclaim his property. But the remembrance of oppreſſion ſo recent has diſguſted the inhabitants of Rabat, who are little anxious to recover poſſeſſions the limits of which they do not know, and the titles to which are no longer in their own power.

The project which the Emperor ſecretly meditated was not diſcovered till the year 1774. He then aſſembled, in the heart of his empire, troops, artillery, and ammunition, and, after having maſked his views, under pretext of hoſtilities, at one time againſt the city of Fez, at another againſt the mountaineers, he began his march to lay ſiege to Melilla. The Emperor pretended, for ſuch were his expreſſions, that

he was only at peace by ſea with his friend Don Carlos, which he was very deſirous to maintain, but that they were not at peace by land.

This diſtinction, characteriſtic of the Moors, and which originated in the hope of ſucceſs, gave great offence to the court of Spain, which ſent ſpeedy ſuccour for the defence of Melilla, and broke off all correſpondence with the court of Morocco. Sidi Mahomet might eaſily have taken the place, had he at firſt attacked it vigorouſly, becauſe that, depending on the faith of treaties, it was then but feebly garriſoned. But General Sherlof, having entered Melilla with between ſeven and eight hundred men, made ſo courageous a defence that the Emperor had cauſe to repent of an enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which failed, which had coſt him vaſt ſums, and which the Moors ſeemed ſecretly to have diſapproved.

Sidi Mahomet was obliged to remove his camp farther from the walls, the cannon of which

which thundered upon his army. It was alſo annoyed by ſome frigates, which, notwithſtanding the narrow ſpace they had to act in, manœuvred very ably. The Moors were ſo diſcouraged that, could the Spaniards have attacked them with any conſiderable force, they muſt have put them to flight, and taken the baggage and artillery.

The ſiege of Melilla had occaſioned expences, and met with impediments that had not been foreſeen. The cannon and ammunition were to be tranſported acroſs the leſſer Atlas, a mixture of vallies and mountains, among which there ſcarcely was a path. Theſe ſtoney and ill-cultivated countries were alſo unable to ſupply provender, and this was obliged to be brought at ſuch an exceſſive expence that the keep of a horſe amounted to half a crown per day. The ſoldiery muſt likewiſe be encouraged by gratifications, ſo that the whole of theſe expences ſunk more than thirty millions of livres, or one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, which was an immenſe ſum for a

ſtate

ſtate ſo poor and exhauſted. The Emperor ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon his undertaking; and, that he might prevent thoſe impreſſions which his retreat might make on the Moors, he cauſed it to be rumoured, through the provinces, that the King of Spain would yield him up Melilla, as ſoon as he could quell the diſcontents of the Monks, who highly diſliked the ceſſion of that place. Rejoicings were made on the receiving of this news, and Sidi Mahomet returned to Mequinez, in the beginning of 1775, exceedingly chagrined with his own proceedings, and highly dreading the reſentment of the court of Spain, and the formidable armament that was then preparing, not knowing that it was intended againſt Algiers. The Emperor was, in effect, in the utmoſt perplexity, and with reaſon, at beholding the gathering ſtorm; nor was he more tranquil till he knew the true deſtination of that fleet, and heard of its failure.

After having thus provoked the reſentment of the court of Madrid, the monarch employed all poſſible means to effect

fect a reconciliation; but the Spaniards, for ſome time, preſerved that rancour which a conduct ſo perfidious had inſpired. A change in the affairs of Europe having occaſioned explanations between the courts, peace was re-eſtabliſhed in 1780, and, during its negociation, Sidi Mahomet did every thing which he ſuppoſed might be moſt agreeable to the king of Spain, and might induce him to forget the paſt.

When Sidi Mahomet prepared for the ſiege of Melilla, he declared war againſt Holland, finding the preſent ſent by the republic, on ſome extraordinary occaſion, not equal to his expectations. Hence it may be judged how little confidence ought to be placed in the friendſhip of a monarch who ſets his friendſhip up to ſale, as actuated by whim, or intereſt. Holland fitted out ſhips for the protection of her commmerce, and, after a defenſive war, when ſhe might have done much better, renewed the peace in 1778, and increaſed her largeſs.

During

During the reign of Sidi Mahomet, the locuſts, which ſo often afflict the ſouthern climates, have various times ravaged the empire of Morocco; but never ſo generally or ſo fatally as after the year 1778. In the ſummer of that ſame year, ſuch clouds of locuſts came from the ſouth that they darkened the air, and devoured a part of the harveſt. Their offspring, which they left on the ground, committed ſtill much greater miſchief. Locuſts appeared and bred anew in the following year, ſo that in the ſpring the country was wholly covered, and they crawled one over the other in ſearch of their ſubſiſtence.

It has before been remarked, in ſpeaking of the climate of Morocco, that the young locuſts are thoſe which are the moſt miſchievous; and that it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to rid the land of theſe inſects, and their ravages, when the country once becomes thus afflicted. In order to preſerve the houſes and gardens in the neighbourhood of cities, they dig a ditch two feet in depth, and as much in width. This they palliſade with reeds cloſe to each other,

and

and inclined inward toward the ditch; ſo that the inſects, unable to climb up the ſlippery reed, fall back into the ditch, where they devour one another.

This was the means by which the gardens and vineyards of Rabat, and the city itſelf, were delivered from this ſcourge, in 1779. The intrenchment, which was, at leaſt, a league in extent, formed a ſemicircle from the ſea to the river, which ſeparates Rabat from Sallee. The quantity of young locuſts here aſſembled was ſo prodigious that, on the third day, the ditch could not be approached becauſe of the ſtench. The whole country was eaten up, the very bark of the fig, pomegranate, and orange tree, bitter, hard, and corroſive as it was, could not eſcape the voracity of theſe inſects.

The lands, ravaged throughout all the weſtern provinces, produced no harveſt, and the Moors, being obliged to live on their ſtores, which the exportation of corn (permitted till 1774) had drained, began to feel a dearth. Their cattle, for which they make

make no proviſion, and which, in theſe climates, have no other ſubſiſtance than that of daily grazing, died with hunger; nor could any be preſerved but thoſe which were in the neighbourhood of mountains, or in marſhy grounds, where the re-growth of paſturage is more rapid.

In 1780, the diſtreſs was ſtill farther increaſed. The dry winter had checked the products of the earth, and given birth to a new generation of locuſts, that devoured whatever had eſcaped from the inclemency of the ſeaſon. The huſbandman did not reap even what he had ſowed, and found himſelf deſtitute of food, cattle, or ſeed corn. In this time of extreme wretchedneſs, the poor felt all the horrors of famine. They were ſeen wandering over the country to devour roots, and, perhaps, abridged their days by digging into the entrails of the earth in ſearch of the crude means by which they might be preſerved.

Vaſt numbers periſhed of indigeſtible food and want. I have beheld country people in the roads, and in the ſtreets, who had

had died of hunger, and who were thrown acroſs aſſes to be taken and buried. Fathers ſold their children. The huſband, with the conſent of his wife, would take her into another province, there to beſtow her in marriage as if ſhe were his ſiſter, and afterward come and reclaim her, when his wants were no longer ſo great. I have ſeen women and children run after camels, and rake in their dung to ſeek for ſome indigeſted grain of barley, which, if they found, they devoured with avidity.

Let us not dwell too long on woes which thus afflict humanity, and of which ſo many thouſands, whoſe hearts are rendered inſenſible of pity by plenty, have no conception. The miſery would have been much greater, had not Spain and Portugal, where the harveſts had been tolerably abundant, permitted the exportation of oil, butter, dried fruits, and other proviſions, and particularly the corn of the north, which happily, at that time, was plentiful at Cadiz and at Liſbon. This corn, which had paſſed through ſo many hands, was ſold in the markets of Sallee at one hundred

dred and twenty livres, or five pounds, the meaſure, which meaſure correſponds with the Setier of Paris *. Bad oil and rancid butter were worth one hundred and eighty livres, or ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, the quintal. Peas, beans, and lentils, which abound in theſe countries, were become objects of ſo much luxury that they were counted out by grains, and twelve or fifteen were ſold for a denier. During three or four years of dearth, the people ate bread which, by the mixture of the ſpecies of grain, and its bad quality, was exceedingly heavy, and difficult of digeſtion. Good bread was worth from ſix-pence to ſeven-pence halfpenny the pound, and other articles of ſubſiſtence in proportion.

Afflicting and extreme as the calamities of the empire at this time were, the awful reſignation of theſe unhappy people, to the

* According to the author's eſtimate (See page 328 of Vol. I.) that the Setier of Paris weighs two hundred and a half, this meaſure will contain ſomewhat under four buſhels. T.

decrees of Providence, could not be beheld but with aſtoniſhment; they ſupported their afflictions without complaint, becauſe that, according to their faith, all things are decreed by the Moſt High, and nothing happens but as pre-ordained by his will. Europeans, leſs reſigned, more reſtleſs, or, perhaps, more accuſtomed to confide in the cares of an adminiſtration the province of which is to provide for all their wants, are impatient and clamorous during times of ſcarcity; and, ſuſpecting abuſes, which ſuſpicions may be ſometimes well founded, they charge their governors with careleſsneſs or guilt. Plenty, or ſcarcity, nevertheleſs, depend moſt evidently on the fertility or intemperance of ſeaſons; when not occaſioned by monopolies, or the exceſs of exportation and importation.

The miſeries the empire of Morocco underwent, in conſequence of the foregoing evils, made it impoſſible for the Moors to pay their taxes; the efforts of commerce ſlackened, and the revenues of the ſtates diminiſhed in proportion.

The

The roads ſoon became unſafe, travellers were obliged to be provided with eſcorts, the provinces were in a ſtate of warfare, reciprocally to rob each other of what had eſcaped from the ravages of locuſts, and the unfavourableneſs of the ſeaſons. From the diſtricts of Rabat and Sallee to the Morbeya, the whole of the provinces of Temſena and Tedla were, for the ſpace of two or three years, expoſed to depredations, which the public calamity might excuſe, ſince they were not excited by the ſpirit of ſedition. Such troubles, which reſemble paſſing ſtorms, are ſoon appeaſed, without the interference of government, when plenty reſtores tranquillity, and once more cools and bridles the reſtleſsneſs and rapacity of the people.

In the year 1783, the Emperor made an excurſion to Tafilet, with a detachment of troops; that city, and its environs, inhabited by numerous Sharifs deſirous of power, had for ſome time been expoſed to civil commotions, which were entirely appeaſed by the preſence of the ſovereign. Sidi Mahomet levied, in the province and

on the eaſtern borders of the greater Atlas, heavy contributions, to puniſh the turbulence of the people.

While the Emperor was at Tafilet, the whole empire ſuffered a great loſs by the death of Muley Ali, the eldeſt of his ſons, who died at Fez, at the age of forty four, in conſequence of a relapſe of a neglected or ill-cured fever. This prince poſſeſſed all the qualities neceſſary to render his people happy; he had not inherited from his anceſtors that impetuous and cruel character which, without conſtituting the happineſs of kings, never fails to render nations miſerable. Appointed by his father to the government of Fez, which is one of the moſt conſiderable in the empire, Muley had behaved with ſo much prudence, and diſintereſtedneſs, that, the Emperor having commanded him to render up an account of all he poſſeſſed, the city of Fez conſented to pay the ſum the ſovereign exacted, that the prince might be maintained in his government, and continue in the good graces of his father.

The

The diſintereſtedneſs of Muley Ali, which was a very high recommendation to him among the people, had, perhaps, weakened the affection of his father, who had not the ſame manner of thinking. Sidi Mahomet having laid a tax on his ſon, which was to be paid for the benefit of his brothers, commanded him to raiſe the ſum required on the community of the Jews, who, not being, he ſaid, in the road to ſalvation, merited no pity.—"Sire," replied Muley Ali, "the Jews are ſo poor that they "are incapable of ſupporting their preſent "taxes, and it is impoſſible I ſhould exact "from them new ones. Should you ſo "pleaſe, you may diſpoſe of the revenues "of my government for the benefit of "my brothers; but I earneſtly ſuppli-"cate you will not require me to op-"preſs theſe people, and thus oblige "me to increaſe wretchedneſs already "too great."

Such anecdotes prove with how much reaſon the people regretted the loſs of this prince. I was well acquainted with his

worth; the confidence with which he honoured me often made me a witneſs of his benevolence, and a judge of his heart.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Character of the reigning Emperor.

SIDI Mahomet, endowed with penetration and judgement, would have been ſuſceptible of all the high qualities neceſſary to govern men, had education brought to perfection thoſe gifts which nature had beſtowed. His age is ſomewhere about ſeventy ſix *, his heighth five feet eight inches

* It is not cuſtomary among the Moors to regiſter the birth of children, not even that of princes; their age is remembered by certain accidents, or events, which the parents commit to memory. A Moor very naturally ſays, he was born in the dry ſummer, the wet winter, or mentions any other ſimilar accident.

The reigning Emperor was at Mecca, in 1727, when Muley Iſhmael died; he was not then married, and, as he has always perfectly remembered this journey, it may well be ſuppoſed he was at that time about ſixteen or eighteen,

inches, his ſymmetry tolerable; he ſquints a little, which gives his aſpect ſome ſeverity; his conſtitution being naturally ſtrong, and his mode of life ſober and frugal, his body is become very capable of ſupporting the fatigue of a life ſo laborious as the government of this empire requires. He is tolerably eaſy of acceſs; foreigners he receives with politeneſs, and converſes with them willingly; but the cool, or warm, reception he gives, alike, are directed by ſome motive of perſonal intereſt. His favour is not conſtant, but varies according as ſuch like intereſted ſenſations vary.

However marked the attachment of Sidi Mahomet to riches may have been, he has ſeldom employed thoſe means, for the accumulation of them, which violence or cruelty might have ſuggeſted. This Emperor will not leave ſo rich a treaſury at his deceaſe as his love for œconomy might fore-

and that he muſt have been born in or near the year 1710. This is the mode I have taken to calculate his age, in which I am confirmed by the oldeſt people in the country.

bode,

bode, and that becauſe his reign has been expoſed to heavy expences; his empire, gradually exhauſted, has no longer in itſelf the ſame reſources. Independent of the heavy ſums expended on the ſiege of Mazagan, that of Melilla, and the maintenance of his forces, Sidi Mahomet has alſo built towns and fortreſſes, moſques and public markets, excluſive of his palaces, which he has embelliſhed. He likewiſe purchaſed, in Malta and the Italian ſtates, numerous Mahometan ſlaves, in 1782, the greateſt part of whom were not his ſubjects; and he has further ſent to Conſtantinople, in 1784, more than four million of livres, (or a hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds) which it is ſuppoſed he, out of reſpect to his religion, either appropriated to the temple of Mecca or the defence of the Ottoman empire, for which, knowing the ambition of its neighbours, he ſeems to have ſome fears.

Covetous as he appears to have been of wealth, Sidi Mahomet will leave little to poſterity, except theſe monuments of his devotion, his charity, and his precaution.

More

More humane, more acceſſible, and leſs exigent than his anceſtors, Sidi Mahomet has ever treated the Chriſtians, whom the fate of war has put into his power, with compaſſion, and on ſome among them he has beſtowed marks of his confidence. After the taking of Mazagan, he ſent thirty-eight ſlaves to the Grand Maſter of the knights of Malta, who were ſubjects of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the Grand Maſter returned a like number of Moors.

Quick and penetrating, this Emperor has often made very juſt obſervations on the characters of nations, judging by the ſlaves whom he had in his poſſeſſion, and who happened to be about his perſon. Perceiving how active the French were in their labours, he choſe them in preference for the execution of any ſudden project; obſerving, at the ſame time, that they were reſtleſs and turbulent, he held it neceſſary they ſhould be employed, that they might neither quarrel among themſelves nor with the other ſlaves. It cannot be ſaid that, under his government, ſlaves have been worked

worked to exceſs; it will likewiſe be perceived that monarchs, who number the ranſom of ſlaves as one part of their revenues, have an intereſt in their preſervation.

During thirty years that Sidi Mahomet has ſat on the throne, his reign has been happy. It would be raſh to propheſy what ſhall happen after his death: although it be true that ſimilar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects, we muſt not always judge of the future by the paſt; the ſmalleſt difference of circumſtances, either in the times, or the characters of thoſe men who head inſurrections, will change the ſtate of things, and decide on the deſtiny of nations. Nevertheleſs, when we behold in Morocco a multitude of princes, each deſirous of governing, each having nearly an equal claim to govern, it ſhould ſeem that like diſſentions may well again be feared, and like revolutious to thoſe which, under preceding reigns, ſo often have rent this empire.

The

The ſucceſſion is not fixed in Morocco, either by law or cuſtom, but depends entirely on concurring accidents. It is well underſtood, among the Moors, that the eldeſt ſon ought to inherit the crown, becauſe that his experience renders him the moſt proper to govern; but, as there is no determinate law on this head, and as there is neither divan nor council in the empire to deliberate on affairs of ſtate, the election of the Emperor depends entirely on chance, on the character of the candidates, the opinion of the people, the influence of the ſoldiery, the ſupport of the provinces, and moſt particularly on the poſſeſſion of the treaſury. He who has money may have ſoldiers, and he who has ſoldiers can make himſelf feared.

We have ſeen that, under Muley Abdallah, one province and one faction would elect this ſovereign, another that; and like anarchy may well be expected, whenever there are a great number of candidates for the throne; at leaſt, unleſs the governors of provinces ſhould all unite to protect one alone. This is a thing moſt difficult to be

accom-

accompliſhed, among the Moors, where men do nothing, and where Providence regulates all.

Of ten or twelve male children, to whom the Emperor is father, there are ſeveral who are capable of government; nor can I doubt but that, informed as they muſt be of former revolutions, they all aſpire with equal confidence to that crown to which birth, the voice of the people, or a concatenation of incidents, may give each an equal right.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the commercial intercourſe between the Empire of Morocco and the nations of Europe.

WHEN the ſpirit of induſtry began to effect a change in Europe, in the power of kingdoms, and the manners of their inhabitants, monarchs felt the neceſſity of naval armaments, and, by their maritime forces, to ſecure to their ſubjects the progreſs of their commerce, and the freedom of the ſeas.

Before the diſcovery of the rout to the Eaſt Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, and even for ſome time after, Europe had no communication with Aſia, except by the Mediterranean, and over this ſea a conſiderable trade was carried on through Spain, France,

France, Italy, the Levant, and the northern ſhores of Africa, which latter, even at that time, were invaded by bands of freebooters. Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, uſurped by multitudes of ſoldiers, whom religion had armed, enemies as they were of the Chriſtian religion, from bigotry, became ſtill more ſo from intereſt; their inhabitants were poor, little addicted to labour, without commerce, pirates from inclination and neceſſity, and had no means of becoming of ſome importance, except by the licentiouſneſs of freebooting.

Europe, which had formerly been armed againſt theſe common enemies by the zeal of religion, preſently found itſelf divided in its own political intereſts. Nations, ambitious of power and of wealth, individually employed by the efforts of induſtry, and the barter of their products, conſulted only their individual conveniency, and, in the hope of acquiring a greater aſcendancy in commercial and maritime affairs, determined to make treaties with theſe uſurpers of the ſhores of Africa; which treaties have

have been more or leſs obſerved, according to the opinion entertained of their reſpective force, and the reciprocity of their intereſts.

Such were the motives, ſuch the principles, of friendſhip, between the powers of Europe and the regencies of Barbary. The rivality, or the feebleneſs, of ſuch commercial nations, occaſioned theſe regencies afterward to acquire thoſe means of power, the diſadvantage and incumbrance of which have ſince been ſo often felt; the conditions by which their friendſhip muſt be purchaſed have imperceptibly become more humiliating, more intolerable, and leſs ſtable.

It was not ſo much for the promotion of trade, on the northern ſhores of Africa, as to favour the growth of maritime power, and commerce in a different channel, that the nations of Europe have entered into theſe friendly treaties with the Barbary regencies, and the empire of Morocco. This empire itſelf, though rich in its native products, is not capable of any extenſive trade; the inſtability of its laws is an ob-

ſtacle to the induſtry of its inhabitants, and to the confidence of foreigners. Neither are the wants of the Moors multiplied by their mode of education, or by the temperature of a climate where nature requires but little; and imaginary wants have been further ſuppreſſed by government, which, by depriving the people of the means of luxury, muſt neceſſarily enfeeble the activity of commerce, of which luxury is the Primum Mobile.

Thus, ſome trifling barter excepted, the ſafety of the ſea has been the cauſe why the nations of Europe have made treaties with the empire of Morocco. I ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe their treaties, and their intereſts, according to the priority of their dates, and ſhall beſtow a ſeparate chapter on thoſe that relate to France.

England is the firſt power which concluded treaties of friendſhip and commerce with the Emperors of Morocco. Being in poſſeſſion of Tangiers, which had been ceded to her by Portugal in 1662, ſhe occaſionally

caſionally felt thoſe inconveniences that reſult from the turbulency of the Moors, which ſhe overlooked, and even gave up certain points, that ſhe might, with the greater eaſe, maintain the garriſon of that town, which, becauſe of its diſtance, at length became a burthen to the nation.

England having, even at that time, acquired an extenſive foreign commerce, ſhe made propoſitions of peace to Muley Iſhmael in 1675, which the caprices and contradictions of that Emperor rendered ineffectual. A truce, however, was concluded for four years in 1681, but was broken before the term expired; the Moors pretended that the peace had only related to the garriſon of Tangiers, and did not extend to the protection of the Britiſh flag.

A diſtinction like this, worthy an Empire where treachery is native, gave birth to explanations. Muley Iſhmael ſent ambaſſadors to London at the commencement of the preſent century. This was a new pretext for new preſents, and the treaty of peace was, at length, renewed under George

George I. After the death of Muley Iſhmael this treaty was confirmed, and renewed, in 1728, by Muley Achmet Daiby, and a little time after by Muley Abdallah.

The immenſe navigation and trade of the Engliſh gave them ſufficient motives to make peace with the Emperor of Morocco; and they had further a political reaſon, which was, to re-victual, with freſh proviſions, their garriſon of Gibraltar with facility, which place has been under their government from the beginning of the preſent century. Sidi Mahomet, more intelligent than his predeceſſors, has derived all poſſible profit from this circumſtance; and the Engliſh nation, haughty, jealous, and ever ready to take offence, has continued, and ſtill continues, to overlook all that inequality of conduct to which the ſpirit of avarice gives birth, on the part of the court of Morocco. The Engliſh have long maintained a trade on the coaſt of that empire, where they ſell coarſe cloths, ſerges, linens, pewter, lead, mercer's commodities, and the iron which their ſhips bring from Biſcay.

They receive in return ſometimes oils, gums, wax, elephants-teeth, and have often ſent, in French bottoms, to Marſeilles, oils, raw hides, and wool, the conſumption of which is greater in our ſouthern provinces than among the more northern nations.

They have alſo exported a number of Mules to North America; but the diſmemberment of that part of their dominions has greatly decreaſed their trade with Morocco, which before was not very conſiderable. England can only have a confined trade with Morocco, not having a ſufficient market for the commodities ſhe returns. The commercial relations which exiſt between kingdoms always depend on their mutual wants, and the facility with which barter can be made to mutual advantage.

In 1732 an ambaſſador was ſent by Muley Abdallah into Holland, and the republic then made its peace with that Emperor; but the revolutions by which his reign was diſturbed gave but little ſtability to the treaty. Holland was the firſt power which renewed

renewed treaties of peace with Sidi Mahomet, who then was only prince and governor of Saffi, but who, being the ſole heir of the empire, had arrogated to himſelf the chief part of the authority. Independent of the ſafety of navigation, Holland had further a political motive, which was early to make peace with the Emperor, that ſhe might the better profit by her neutrality during the war of 1755.

Having been informed that this republic treated the regency of Algiers with greater generoſity than himſelf, Sidi Mahomet complained of the States General; and, notwithſtanding the compliance that was ſhewn, the Emperor declared war againſt the Dutch toward the end of 1774, pretending that an extraordinary preſent, which they had ſent him, and which he kept, was not ſufficiently magnificent.

The republic ſent numerous veſſels into the Straits for the protection of trade and navigation; few of them appeared upon the coaſt, and that ſo ſeldom that the corſairs of Morocco took three Dutch ſhips,

two of them as they left the port of San Lucar, within ſight of Cadiz. Theſe advantages were counterbalanced by the loſſes of the Emperor of Morocco. A Dutch frigate, which did but begin to chace two Corſairs of Sallee, cauſed them to be ſhipwrecked, even without following them, the one at the entrance of the river of Laracha, and the other at the mouth of that of Mamora. Holland renewed the peace in 1778, was more generous in her gifts, and, if ſo ſhe ſhall pleaſe, may continue it by the like means.

Holland carries on a certain trade with the coaſt of Morocco, and cuſtom has almoſt rendered her importations neceſſary. She there vends quantities of Sileſian linens, called platillas, many of the coarſe linens of the Baltic, and others, ſome few ſpices, drugs, tea, timber, iron of Biſcay, and quantities of the cutlery and mercery wares of Germany.

Holland receives from the coaſt of Morocco, in return, ſometimes oils, wax, gums, and elephants-teeth; but, as thoſe returns,

returns, which ſuit the Dutch merchants, are inſufficient to balance the quantity of merchandize they ſend thither, they have almoſt continually profited by the facility with which they can run for the French ports, to ſend oils to Marſeilles, wools, and raw hides, which there find a readier ſale than in the north. Had not Holland this liberty, ſhe would imperceptibly have been obliged to renounce a trade, which muſt have become diſadvantageous, when ſhe could no longer freight her ſhips by barter, or be paid in money.

The court of Denmark began to negotiate with Sidi Mahomet in 1755. That kingdom is ſo diſtant from Morocco that the Daniſh miniſtry had not any juſt ideas concerning the government of this empire. Deceived by a Jew, who was the inſtrument and interpreter of the negotiations of Denmark, ſhe ſuppoſed ſhe might, without impediment, build a fortreſs at Santa Cruz, that ſhe might there protect a mercantile ſettlement, which ſhe intended to eſtabliſh. The Jew agent diſguiſed the intentions of the court of Denmark;

nor was there any knowledge in Morocco of the intended fort, till the materials for building it were landed. The Emperor, offended at ſeeing himſelf treated like the princes of Senegal, impriſoned the ambaſſador of Denmark, and his retinue, pretending he would treat them as ſlaves. Some time was neceſſary to rectify this miſtake. Denmark again undertook to negotiate in 1757, a ranſom was agreed upon, new preſents were made, and a new peace concluded.

The late king of Denmark, occupied by commercial projects, gave his conſent at that time for the forming of a royal African company, which, on paying an annual tribute of fifty thouſand piaſtres, obtained from the Emperor of Morocco the excluſive commerce of his coaſt, for the term of ten years, in the ports of Sallee and of Saffi, where two mercantile ſettlements were made. The oppreſſions and embarraſſments which this monopoly incited, the expences occaſioned by the forming of theſe eſtabliſhments, and the want of œconomy in ſome foreign directors, to whom the adminiſtration

miniſtration of the company's affairs were confided, rendered this attempt unſucceſsful. The monopoly extended only to the ports of Saffi and Sallee, the trade of which declined in conſequence of other eſtabliſhments, at the ports of Mogodor and Laracha, whither, by leſſening the duties of the cuſtoms, the Emperor had drawn the chief products of his domains, which freighted the returning European ſhips.

This company, beſide, were merely concerned in a carrying trade, as uncertain in its ſucceſs as ill judged in its principles. Denmark itſelf contains no product neceſſary for the coaſt of Morocco, nor can the products of that empire find any market in Denmark; ſo that this company was but a clog upon the induſtry of the intermediate nations, and could derive no other advantage than that of affording employment to ſome Daniſh ſhips, which often arrived on the coaſt of Morocco loaded, and returned empty back. The Daniſh African company ſoon ſaw its capital ſunk by ill-timed ſpeculations, and by the gifts which the compli-

compliance of its directors, and the neceſſity of ſatisfying the Emperor, did but multiply.

This company continued buſied in the liquidation of its debts, after the acceſſion of Chriſtian VII. to the throne of Denmark; it was ſuppreſſed in 1767, at which time the court of Denmark freed itſelf from the annual burthen of fifty thouſand piaſtres, a price paid for a monoply, which the royal African company ought to have enjoyed, but did not. The Danes only, however, could obtain the continuation of peace by annually paying the ſum of twenty-five thouſand piaſtres. Denmark has not itſelf any direct trade with that coaſt.

The Swedes concluded peace with the Emperor of Morocco in 1763. The preſent Sweden ſent conſiſted of cannon, maſts, and timber; ſhe likewiſe agreed to make an annual preſent of twenty-thouſand piaſtres, which ſhe meant to pay in her own native products, but which the Emperor inſiſted on receiving in ready money. In the year 1771, Guſtavus III., who then aſcended

aſcended the throne of Sweden, refuſed all kind of tribute, reſerving to himſelf the liberty of making voluntary preſents, without any determinate time or value. It was, at length, agreed, as a means of continuing the former good underſtanding between the courts, that the king of Sweden ſhould ſend an ambaſſador and a preſent once in two years, to the Emperor of Morocco. The Swedes have no commercial intercourſe with this empire.

The republic of Venice made peace with the Emperor of Morocco in 1765. She ſent a very handſome preſent in money, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of about a hundred thouſand livres, (or upward of four thouſand pounds.) This republic having treated the regency of Algiers ſtill more liberally, the Emperor was offended at the diſtinction, and ſent a Genoeſe, who was in his ſervice, to Venice to complain. His envoy having been received with great coolneſs by the Senate, and having returned with an anſwer that did not ſatisfy Sidi Mahomet, he gave further tokens of his diſcontent to the republic in

1780,

1780, and, inventing certain imputations, obliged the Venetian conſul to depart from his ſtates; but the republic having acquieſced in the wiſhes of the Emperor, in 1781, the conſul returned, and was very favourably received at the court of Morocco. The republic of Venice has no commercial intercourſe with this empire, and therefore, like the courts of Denmark and Sweden, pays this tribute ſolely for the ſafety of navigation.

The court of Spain, as well as that of France, made peace with the Emperor of of Morocco in 1767. Sidi Mahomet was the firſt to ſend an ambaſſador to Spain, and affected to give this kingdom ſo much the preference that the confidence placed in his profeſſions were too great. After having received very high proofs of the generoſity of the court of Spain, and having, in ſome meaſure, diſpoſed of his arſenals for the repair of her ſhips, this monarch took occaſion to deſtroy the good harmony which then exiſted between the two powers, without breaking the peace, which, according to him, was merely confined

fined to the liberty of navigation. He marched with an army, about the end of 1774, to lay ſiege to Melilla, which place, inſtead of defending, he ſuppoſed Spain would abandon.

This proceeding, contrary to the faith of treaties, was the occaſion of a rupture, between the court of Spain and that of Morocco. The Moor, having failed in his enterprize, took every poſſible means to re-eſtabliſh peace; but the court of Madrid, deeply reſenting his conduct, deferred concluding any treaty, and was ſatisfied with remaining in a kind of truce.

The quarrel between France and England having changed the political ſituation of Europe, the court of Spain thought that a favourable moment to treat with the Emperor of Morocco; and Sidi Mahomet renewed peace, in 1780, by the mediation of his ambaſſador, Ben-Otman, eagerly acquieſcing in whatever the Spaniſh court demanded. The Emperor not only conſented to refuſe revictualing the garriſon of Gibraltar, the ſiege of which was meditated

tated by Spain, but the Spaniards were, in a manner, maſters of Tangiers, where they victualed their army, and which place ſerved as an aſylum to ſuch of their ſhips as were ſtationed near the Straits. Their poſts of obſervation beyond the caſtle, and as far as Cape Spartel, were ſo well regulated, that their ſignals from place to place communicated along the whole coaſt of Andaluſia.

Their can be no continued trade between the coaſt of Spain and that of Morocco, for the corn trade, which varies according to circumſtances and ſeaſons, muſt only be conſidered as caſual. The products of Morocco, their proviſions excepted, are wholly uſeleſs in Spain; nor does Spain itſelf afford many articles of conſumption for Morocco, cochineal excepted, which is uſed to dye Morocco leather, and the excluſive trade in which the Emperor has reſerved to himſelf. The iron of Biſcay, and the Barcelona handkerchiefs, which are in general uſe, might, indeed, be imported, but foreign nations buy up the firſt in exchange for their ſeveral products,

and

and the trade in the ſecond is not of ſufficient extent to maintain a continual intercourſe.

For ſome years after the peace, conluded in 1767, the harveſts having failed in Spain, the Spaniards bought up conſiderable quantities of wheat and barley on the coaſt of Morocco. This, however, was a forced trade, and not reciprocal; they took their money thither to buy proviſions, poultry, and fruits, wherewith to ſupply Andaluſia, where, becauſe of the heat of the climate, men are little inclined to labour, and where the inequality of the ſeaſons renders their harveſts very uncertain.

Politically conſidered, this trade was only advantageous to the Emperor of Morocco, ſince Spain was not only dependent on him for ſupplies, but that, likewiſe, the facility with which theſe ſupplies were obtained did but further increaſe the indolence of the farmers of Andaluſia. Hence reſulted a great circulation of piaſtres in the empire of Morocco, and, perhaps, two million of

livres (or upward of eighty thouſand pounds ſterling) of increaſe to the revenue. Between the years 1770 and 1774, Spain tranſported from Morocco quantities of wheat and barley; but ſhe again rendered the very ſame aid to Morocco, from 1779 to 1781, when a part of that empire was afflicted by famine.

In February, 1769, the court of Portugal loſt the town of Mazagan, on the weſtern ſide of Morocco, which it had preſerved, and where the arms and the commerce of Portugal were ſo eminently ſucceſsful at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. This town, ſituated in the centre of a fertile province, clandeſtinely ſupplied Portugal with ſome proviſions and cattle. After the loſs of Mazagan, the court of Liſbon, deſirous of poſſeſſing its former reſources, and wiſhing to acquire greater ſafety for its flag and guard its ſhips from the corſairs of Morocco, to which the peace between Spain and Morocco gave more frequent opportunities of approach to the coaſt of Portugal, thought proper, in 1773, to conclude a treaty with the Emperor.

peror. There is no continued trade between Portugal and Morocco, and the intercourſe of the two courts is ſimply confined to teſtimonies of friendſhip. The Emperor of Morocco ſends a few horſes, and many compliments, to the court of Liſbon, which returns demonſtrations of good will ſomewhat more ſubſtantial.

Toward the end of the year 1782, Sidi Mahomet ſent an ambaſſador into Tuſcany, who, in 1783, departed thence for Vienna to conclude a peace with both theſe courts; but the trade between Morocco and theſe nations is only accidental, and the treaty has no other utility than that of the ſafety of navigation for Tuſcan and Imperial ſhips, and of thus giving a greater degree of ſtability to commerce, which theſe powers wiſh to encourage throughout their ſtates.

The republic of Genoa enjoys only a kind of truce with the empire of Morocco, which is wholly unſupported by any treaty. A Jew ſubject of Morocco, whoſe name was Ben-Amor, made a voyage to Genoa

by order of his maſter, and treated with a noble Genoeſe concerning commercial connections with the Emperor, who on this occaſion, voluntarily made very great advances. The ſenator formed a commercial company, and ſent his agents, in 1769, with ſplendid preſents, and a numerous train. This company enjoyed a momentary fame, and afterward as ſuddenly declined. It did but reſemble a flaſh of lightning in a clouded and gloomy night.

The Emperor of Morocco, thus at peace with the principal commercial nations, and deſirous of being ſo with all the Chriſtian powers, hoping thereby to extend the commerce of his empire, and to profit by the rival ſpirit of nations, publicly manifeſted, by letters, in 1777, "That he granted "entire liberty to all ſhips to trade with, "and enter, his ports, being deſirous of "peace with the whole world." This general notice produced no effect, either becauſe thoſe nations which it moſt intereſted had not ſufficient confidence in his promiſes, or becauſe they wanted ſuch products and reſources as were neceſſary to maintain

maintain a trade with the coaſt of Morocco.

Notwithſtanding that the Emperor had declared he held himſelf to be at peace with all Europe, he nevertheleſs pronounced a ſhip from Raguſa, taken by one of his corſairs, in 1779, a legal capture. The cargo, worth more than a hundred thouſand livres, (or upward of four thouſand pounds) was the property of the Malteſe, and was confiſcated; and yet, from ſome inexplicable caprice, the Malteſe ſailors were reſtored to their freedom, while thoſe of Raguſa were made ſlaves.

The diſpute this occaſioned, and which was rendered ſtill more intricate by a diverſity of intereſts, was very tedious, and liable to numerous incongruities. The Ottoman Porte claimed the ſailors of Raguſa as its vaſſals, and by the ſame title protected the freedom of the Raguſan flag. The diſpatches of the Porte, written in the Turkiſh language, although the Moors could not read them, were not received with the leſs deference; the Raguſan ſai-

lors, detained in ſlavery, were reſtored to the Envoy of the republic, and the Emperor dictated ſuch terms of peace as Raguſa could neither accept nor durſt refuſe. The ſuſpence and inconveniences that aroſe gave occaſion to new explanations, which did not ſilence the fears of the Senate of Raguſa; a ſtate ſo feeble, and in ſo precarious a ſituation, can enjoy but little certainty.

The United States of North America, after ſecuring their independence by wiſe laws, and concluding various commercial treaties with the powers of Europe, were further deſirous of adding new means of advantage, and increaſe, to their induſtry and navigation. In conſequence of this, they, during the year 1786, profiting by the pacific diſpoſition which the Emperor of Morocco announced to all commercial nations, concluded a treaty of peace with this monarch.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the commercial intercourſe between the kingdom of France, and the empire of Morocco.

IN the beginning of the preſent century, France was poſſeſſed of colonies, manufactures, mercantile eſtabliſhments, in foreign nations, and a maritime commerce, which, in its birth, betokened the extent of which it was ſuſceptible, from national induſtry, and the vigilance of the miniſtry; her navigation began to appear reſpectable, in conſequence of her naval forces, under the reign of Louis XIV.; but the wars ſhe was obliged to maintain, toward the concluſion of this reign, greatly retarded the progreſs of her foreign trade.

So rapid was the growth of this trade, under the following reign, that her rivals, jealous of the empire of the ſea, took umbrage at her maritime proſperity. The late ſucceſs of her arms has effaced the remembrance of thoſe humiliations to which ſhe was ſubjected, in conſequence of the war of 1756; and the influence which this ſucceſs ought naturally to acquire ſhould, each returning day, give new ſtrength to her commerce.

The firſt efforts of France to extend her navigation incited the cupidity of the regencies of Barbary, that were in the neighbourhood of her ſouthern ports. After having ſeveral times chaſtiſed their temerity, France, at length, made peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. She alſo held momentary negotiations with Muley Iſhmael, but found no poſſible means of fixing the wavering temper of that Emperor, and of obviating thoſe difficulties which might well be feared from his want of good faith. This monarch being dead, the empire of Morocco, become the prey of rebellions, was continually changing its

its maſters. Its ports, alſo, were under the government of particular and local laws, and the difficulties of treaties of peace were increaſed, becauſe that, during a ſtate of ſuch anarchy, it was impoſſible to aſſign any duration to ſuch treaties.

Theſe obſtacles were removed when Sidi Mahomet aſcended the throne, and France profited by the diſpoſitions of this Emperor to enter on new negotiations; but they were ſubject to ſo much incertitude, and ſo many variations, that, in order ultimately to bring the Moor to a firm determination, ſhe thought proper, in 1765, to ſend a ſquadron, of one ſhip of the line, eight frigates, three zebecks, one bark, and two bomb ketches, to the weſtern coaſt of Morocco. This ſquadron, of greater force than was neceſſary, was impeded by a concatenation of circumſtances, which were not ſufficiently foreſeen, becauſe a ſufficient knowledge of the coaſt had not been obtained. The bomb ketches played upon Rabat and Sallee with little ſucceſs. The ſquadron next proceeded to Laracha; the frigates occaſioned a corſair to be

ſtranded upon the coaſt, and the ſmaller veſſels of the ſquadron, after being detained two or three nights by a diverſity of opinions among the captains, and the difficulties of the paſſage, at length entered the river of Laracha, and there burned a ſhip.

This advantage was balanced by the loſs of many brave men. Obliged, in the river, to give battle to a multitude of Mooriſh ſoldiers, who had had time to aſſemble, becauſe of the delays to which this expedition had been ſubjected, the French loſt near two hundred men on that occaſion, forty-five of whom were made ſlaves, without enumerating the wounded. But this loſs was no ſufficient counterpoiſe to that of the Emperor of Morocco, many of whoſe ſoldiers alſo fell. This monarch was enabled to judge, by the valorous defence of the French, that, on ſome future opportunity, this valour might be more ſucceſsful, and he propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms. A truce was, at length, agreed on, and this truce was prolonged that reciprocal explanation might be more preciſe. The preliminaries of peace were definitively

tively concluded toward the end of the year 1766, by the intervention of the Sieur Jean Jacques Salva, a French merchant, ſettled at Saffi.

In the ſpring of 1767, the Comte de Breugnon, a captain in the navy, was appointed ambaſſador to conclude the peace, and ſailed to Saffi with a ſquadron under his command. The Comte took with him a preſent, worthy of the magnificence of his monarch, for the Emperor of Morocco. The French flag was ſaluted at Saffi by the whole artillery of the caſtle; and the ambaſſador met, on ſhore, and during the reſt of his voyage, the moſt diſtinguiſhed reception, according to the cuſtom of thoſe people.

France, however, had proof that, though the character of a nation may vary according to circumſtances, in reality it is ever the ſame. At the very moment when the Moors made thoſe warm profeſſions, which an intereſted court will ever teſtify for its new friends, a corſair of the Emperor took three French merchant ſhips in the

the Straits, which, though there was no difficulty in proving the injury, were ſometime before they were reſtored. The Emperor diſclaimed this act of hoſtility, and the corſair was condemned never to ſail more. The ſigning of the peace was itſelf delayed, becauſe that explanations were neceſſary, and the preliminaries, which had been agreed on between the two courts, and ſent to Verſailles, written in Arabic, to be ſigned, were laid aſide: proceedings were all again to be begun, and the treaty, concerning which the two powers had been mutually agreed, was once more to be diſcuſſed, and almoſt wholly altered.

Previous to the peace between France and Morocco, the French had two mercantile eſtabliſhments ſettled there on the faith of aſylum. After the peace their mercantile houſes became numerous. This was the error of the French; there were too many of them for the trade, and their numbers were not only injurious to their own intereſts but, probably, excited the avarice of the Emperor, who, eſtimating the

the advantages of their trade by their eagerneſs, was deſirous it might become more profitable to himſelf, and therefore impoſed heavier duties. The trade then began to decline; merchants were diſcouraged by theſe new ſhackles, by rules which deſpotiſm preſcribed, by the neceſſity of conforming to theſe rules, by the removal of their trade from one port to another, and by all the various means which the abuſe of power, the ſpirit of avarice, and the convenience of the moment, could ſuggeſt.

France, perhaps, is the only nation which is capable to maintain an uninterrupted trade with the empire of Morocco, mutually beneficial. She is enabled herſelf to ſupply all the wants of that empire, and the products of Morocco find at Marſeilles a more certain ſale than at any other port. According to the beſt and moſt exact information, it is demonſtrated that her trade, on the coaſt of Morocco, might not only become capable of increaſe, but that the reciprocal conveniences, which muſt reſult to the two powers by the barter of their

their reſpective products, ought to be conſidered as a political motive for the mutual maintenance of peace.

If France, by living in good harmony with Morocco, ſhould unite to the benefits of commerce that of the ſafety of her flag, Morocco would, on her part, acquire a very eſſential advantage from this connection, by the great facility with which ſhe could vend her native products, which conſtitute the ſole wealth of nations, and the ultimate reſources of a ſtate. It muſt be acknowledged that, at firſt, it would not be poſſible to give any degree of ſtability to this trade, becauſe of the difficulty there muſt be of fixing the ideas of a deſpot, whoſe motives all originate in momentary conveniences, on any determinate point. This, however, may be remedied in time; wants and circumſtances every where preſcribe laws, and every where, ſoon or late, teach men the neceſſity of conforming to theſe laws.

France would inſenſibly and excluſively engroſs the trade of Morocco, if, profiting by

by her advantages, ſhe ſhould ſubject that trade to the ſame laws which have ſo ſucceſsfully procured her the excluſive trade of the Levant, and the republics of Barbary. Endeavours at improvement, and, perhaps, the ſpirit of innovation, have cauſed the voice of freedom to raiſe itſelf againſt prohibitory laws. Such laws may be wrong, in particular caſes; but the application of this rule ſhould not be univerſal; they may, in general, be beneficial to a nation, which, poſſeſſed of native products and colonies, having a maritime force to preſerve, manufacturers to encourage, and multitudes of workmen to employ, is intereſted to procure to itſelf, excluſively, ſuch branches of commerce as may beſt obtain theſe ends. She would act contrary to her intereſts, were ſhe to ſuffer her rivals to become the carriers of her products, while they refuſe her a ſimilar and reciprocal freedom.

The French vend, on the coaſt of Morocco, much of the linnen of Brittany, and of other places, ſome raw ſilk for the manufactures of Fez, unſpun cotton, Biſcay iron, common papers, mercery goods, ſome

few

ſilks, cloths, ſugars, and coffee, and as much ſulphur as the Emperor requires, the trade in which he has reſerved to himſelf.

They receive in exchange, wool, oil, raw hides, wax, gums, and elephants' teeth. The balance, being againſt France, is paid in Spaniſh piaſtres, or in merchandize brought from ſome foreign nations; yet we ought not to ſuppoſe the trade of Morocco diſadvantageous to France, ſince ſhe does not ſend her ſhips thither for objects of luxury, but ſupplies neceſſary to her manufactures, and ſuch as may animate national induſtry, by renewing the materials of exportation, and procuring the commodities of trade and commerce.

After having explained the commercial intercourſe of the European nations with the empire of Morocco, enumerated what ſhackles are impoſed by government, and what reſult from local circumſtances, I think it proper to ſpeak a word concerning the cuſtom which the Emperors of Morocco have in ſuffering the ſhips of nations, with whom they

are at war, to trade to their coaſt. This political toleration appears to do honour to theſe monarchs; but the abſurdity of the Europeans, in making uſe of this permiſſion, is not the leſs evident, ſince Morocco enjoys the double advantage of trade and of piracy.

Neither can it be ſaid Europe, in this reſpect, has a like advantage, for there is the following difference. The empire of Morocco cannot ſupply its own wants, yet has the balance in its favour, by its commerce with Europe; therefore it grants the freedom of its ports only from neceſſity, and that it may diſencumber itſelf of products, for which it has no conſumption, and receive others, of which it is in abſolute need. Hence, it would be much wiſer, were the European nations, eſpecially thoſe that find the quickeſt market for the products of Morocco, to renounce this freedom, and to avail themſelves of the neceſſity of that empire to barter its commodities, and thereby oblige it to remain quiet. For one nation to ſupply another, with which it is at war, and to carry on a trade beneficial

to

to that other, is, by fair deduction, to pay tribute, without enjoying the advantages of peace.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Cuſtom-houſe duties, coins, weights, and meaſures.

THE duties, coins, weights, and meaſures, in Morocco, are almoſt as variable as the opinion of the Emperor; yet, notwithſtanding this fluctuation, I have thought proper to terminate my obſervations, on what concerns this empire, by giving an abſtract of their preſent ſtate.

The duties of exportation and importation have been much altered. Thoſe of importation, which are paid in effects, and not in money, have riſen from eight to fifteen per cent., iron excepted, which pays the fourth, or the third, of its value. Thoſe of exportation, which I have ſeveral times

ſeen raiſed, are entirely arbitrary; the articles do not each pay in the ſame proportion. The duties on ſome amount to as much as the prime-coſt.

Merchant ſhips are ſubjected to an anchorage duty, which has alſo undergone many variations; neither is this duty the ſame in all the ports of the coaſt, which ports do not all equally enjoy the freedom of trade and navigation.

The coins, which are current over the coaſt of Morocco, are thoſe of the Emperor, and thoſe of Spain. The coins of the Emperor are in gold, ſilver, and copper. Their ſeveral values are not fixed, but the variations, to which they are ſubject, do not there influence the price of proviſions and goods, as they would in Europe, where money is properly conſidered only as the ſymbol of wealth.

The gold ducat, which is very ſcarce, and therefore little in circulation, is worth fifteen ounces, which correſponds to ten

French

French livres, or eight and four pence Engliſh.

The ſilver money is the current ducat, the ounce, and the blanquil. The current ducat is worth ten ounces, the ounce four blanquils, and the blanquil twenty-four flus. The flus is the only current copper coin. The value of the blanquil is three ſous four deniers of France, or nearly ſeven farthings Engliſh; conſequently the ounce is worth thirteen ſous four deniers, or ſix pence three farthings, and the ducat ſix livres thirteen ſous four deniers, or five ſhillings and ſix pence three farthings*. The Spaniſh piaſtre is current in trade, and in general its value is fixed; it may, however, vary according to the convenience of the Emperor, and the intereſt he may have to render piaſtres ſcarce or common.

The weights, by which they buy and ſell in Morocco, are equivalent to the weights

* The Engliſh is the third part of a farthing above the exact eſtimate in all theſe three caſes. T.

of Paris; that is to ſay, to the *Poids de marc*, or pound of ſixteen ounces; the ſubdiviſions of which are, at both places, the ſame. Merchandize is in general ſold by the quintal of one hundred pounds; but ſome commodities are ſold by the great quintal, or one hundred and fifty pounds.

Corn is meaſured, after different manners, along the coaſt of Morocco. In the ſouthern provinces, known by the name of the kingdom of Morocco, wheat is ſold by the Garara and the Mood, which is the modus of the ancients, whence the French have derived their Muid. The garara contains forty mood, and the mood weighs from eighteen to twenty pounds; hence the garara muſt be nearly eight hundred weight. In the kingdom of Fez, from Sallee to the north, corn is ſold by the Saffa, the Sahah, and the Mood. Four mood make one ſahah, and ſixty mood one ſaffa; hence, the mood weighing from eighteen to twenty pounds, the weight of the ſaffa muſt be twelve quintals. Three ſahah, or twelve mood, are nearly equivalent to the meaſure of Marſeilles, called the

charge,

charge, which alſo nearly correſponds to the Setier of Paris. It is neceſſary to obſerve that the corn meaſures are liable to be varied, according to the will of the Emperor.

The meaſure by which cloths, linen, and woollen, are ſold, is called coode, which is the cubit of the ancients. The coode, which is in uſe throughout all the empire, and which never varies, contains nineteen inches four lines. There are forty-four inches in a French ell, conſequently two coodes and a quarter are equal to an ell, the fraction of half an inch excepted.

THE END.

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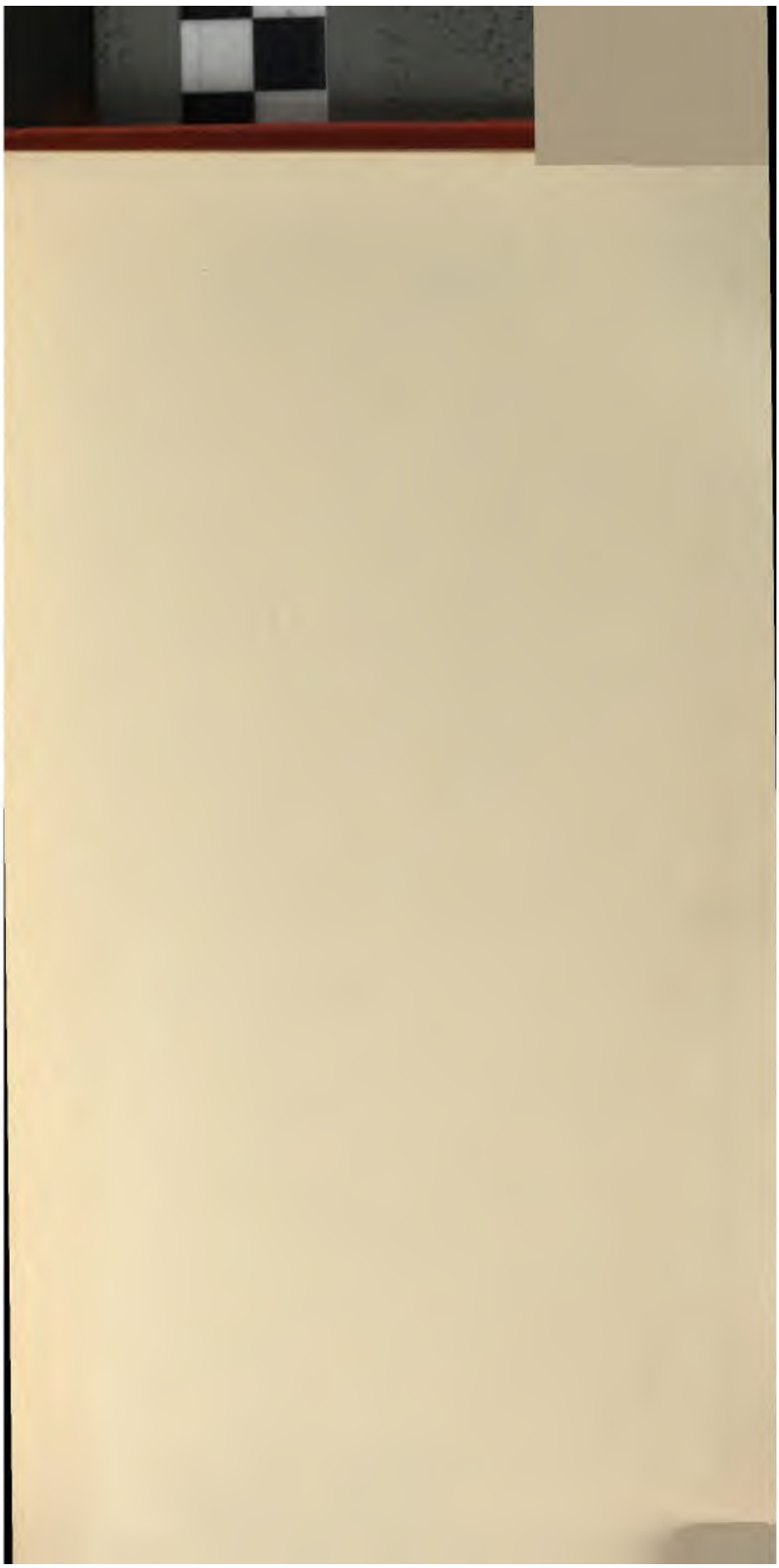
ERRATUM.

Vol. I. page 269, line 5, for *tar*, read *pitch*.



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